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PALACES
IN & NEAR LONDON



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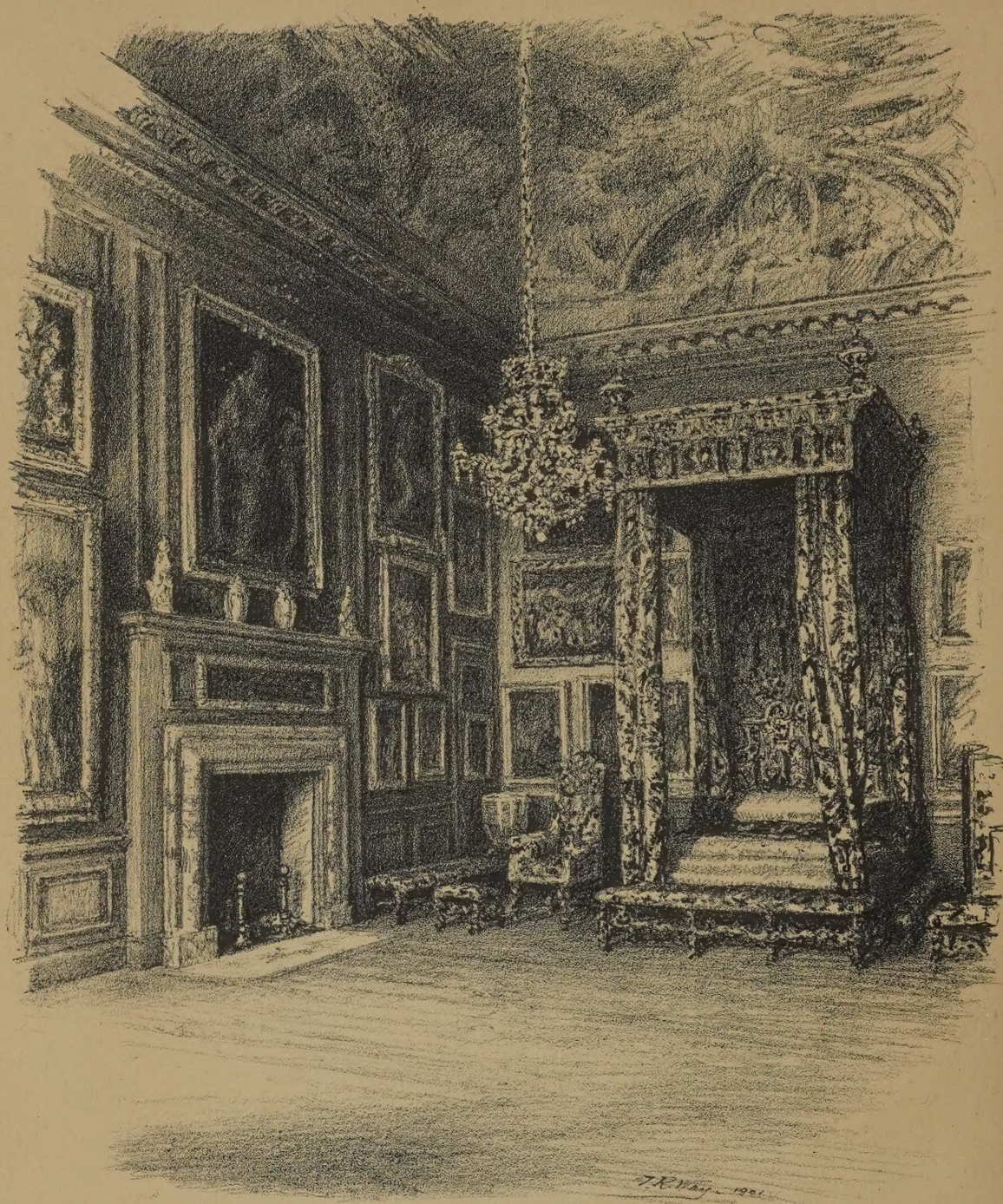
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ANCIENT ROYAL PALACES
IN AND NEAR LONDON



ANCIENT ROYAL PALACES IN AND NEAR LONDON

DRAWN IN LITHOGRAPHY
BY THOMAS R. WAY

WITH NOTES COMPILED
BY FREDERIC CHAPMAN



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PREFACE

IN the preface to a previous volume of mine, I mentioned that I intended later on to devote one to the remains of the old Royal Palaces in London. The great epoch in our national history which culminated on January 22nd of this year in the close of the late most splendid reign, has naturally brought with it great changes in some of these ancient buildings. It seemed, therefore, a desirable time to gather together some slight record of these buildings, in which have been enacted so many stirring events of English history for well-nigh a thousand years.

The subject, however, is a vast one, and each building has been treated in at least one important volume. Consequently, the difficulty Mr. Chapman and I have had to deal with has been to make choice out of the great mass of material at our disposal. For my own part, all I can hope to have done is to have drawn attention to the fact that in these thirteen palaces or remains of palaces near London, erected by the ancestors of King Edward VII., the nation possesses a more splendid collection of buildings of the kind than any other country can boast of.

In the halls of Westminster, Eltham, and Hampton Court there is an unsurpassable trio of Gothic roofs, and that of

Crosby Hall is little inferior to them, although frequent coats of varnish have made it so dark that its beauties are difficult to discern.

Rumour had it, in the spring of this year, that there was a possibility of Hampton Court being used again for State purposes; and what could be more desirable? For surely Hampton Court is far too living a palace to be allowed to drift entirely into a museum and picture gallery. For the latter purpose it serves but ill, rather hiding than displaying a collection which, in the works of some great masters, surpasses the National Gallery.

Buckingham Palace has not been included in this volume, as, although the original Buckingham House was of quite respectable age, yet its use as a Royal palace dates from so very much later a time than any of the others, that, in comparison, it ranks as a modern building.

I have to thank the Secretary to His Majesty's Office of Works for the necessary permits to make most of the drawings. But I much regret that I was not able to obtain permission to draw an interior either of St. James's or Kensington Palace. In the latter case, with the aid of photographs and my own memory, I have been enabled to include the King's Gallery. All the other drawings have been made direct from the buildings.

T. R. WAY.

November, 1901.

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ANCIENT ROYAL PALACES IN AND NEAR LONDON

ELTHAM PALACE

ELTHAM, which lies about a couple of miles south-east of Greenwich, on the road from London to Maidstone, was a manor belonging to the Crown as far back as the time of Edward the Confessor. By William the Conqueror it was granted to his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, but the latter's estates were confiscated about four years subsequently, and the manor reverted to the Crown. It was then divided, a part being bestowed on the Mandeville family, and a part being retained by the Crown. In Edward I.'s reign the Crown portion was granted to John de Vesci, who also acquired the Mandeville portion by exchanging other lands for it. This De Vesci gave the estate in trust for his natural son, to Anthony Bec, Bishop of Durham, and, whether by fair means or by misappropriating the property of his ward, the Bishop became possessor of the manor and laid out large sums in building. Before his death, in 1311, he assigned the palace to Queen Eleanor, the wife of Edward I. After grants successively to Sir Gilbert de Aton and Geoffrey le

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Scrope, it came into the hands of Queen Isabella, wife of Edward II., since which time it has remained the property of the Crown, although various persons have been allowed to hold it on lease.

The earliest historical mention of the palace is contained in Matthew Paris's "*Historia Major*," which Lambarde thus alludes to—

"King Henry the Third (saith Mat. Parise) toward the latter ende of his reigne (1270) kept a Royall Christmas (as the manner then was) at Eltham, being accompanied with his Queene and Nobilitie: and this (belike) was the first warming of the house (as I may call it) after that the Bishop had finished his worke. For I doe not hereby gather that hitherto the King had any propertie in it, for as much as the Princes in those daies used commonly both to sojourn for their pleasures, and to passe their set solemnities also, in Abbaies and in Bishops' houses."

In 1315 there was born here a prince, afterwards known as John of Eltham. He was subsequently created Duke of Cornwall, but does not appear to have made any figure in history. It was probably from the circumstance of his appellation, John of Eltham, being rather firmly fixed in the memory of the inhabitants, that in the course of years the palace came to be spoken of as King John's Palace at Eltham, an error perpetuated even to the present day. King John was never in any way associated with Eltham, but his personality and place in history were remembered when John of Eltham was only the shadow of a name.

Edward II. frequently resided at Eltham, and on two occasions Edward III. summoned a Parliament there, at the second one the Commons presenting him with a petition that he would create his grandson Richard Prince of Wales.

King John of France, an account of whose captivity in England is given in the article on the Savoy Palace, was entertained at Eltham by the King and Queen. Froissart describes the reception of the French monarch at the palace gates on Sunday afternoon, and continues: "Between that time and supper in his honour, were many grand dances and

carols, at which the young Lord de Courcy distinguished himself by singing and dancing." The unwilling royal guest, being asked to take a part in the proceedings, is said to have made the pathetic answer, "How can I sing in a strange land?"

Under Richard II. and his wife Anne of Bohemia, Eltham was occupied frequently, and Holinshed records that in 1386—

"King Richard II. holding his Christmasse at Eltham, thither came to him Leo, King of Armenia, whose country and realme being in danger to be conquered of the Turks, he was come into these west parts of Christendome for aid and succour at the hands of Christian princes here. The King honourable received him, and after he had taken counsell touching his request, he gave him great summes of money, and other rich gifts, with a stipend, as some write, of a thousand pounds yearly to be paid to him during his life."

So as far back as the fourteenth century, Armenia was devastated by the Turks, and, as within the last few years, the sympathy and help of England were solicited by the distressed Armenians.

In the Chronicles of Froissart mention of the palace of Eltham is of frequent occurrence; perhaps the most interesting reference is the one in which he describes the visit he himself paid to the place when, in 1395, he came to England for the purpose of personally presenting to King Richard a volume of his writings.

This account is as follows :—

"The King arrived at Eltham on a Tuesday; on the Wednesday the lords came from all parts. There were the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Derby, Arundel, Northumberland, Kent, Rutland, the Earl Marshall, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London and Winchester, in short, all who had been summoned arrived at Eltham on the Thursday by eight o'clock in the morning. The Parliament was holden in the King's apartment, in the presence of the King, his uncles, and the Council. The matter in deliberation was the solicitation of the chieftains in Aquitaine, that

they might remain attached to the crown of England. Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the King's brother, opposed their petition, with a view to keep his brother, the Duke of Lancaster, abroad; and to show that he was the man who governed the King, and was the greatest in the council, as soon as he had delivered his opinion, and saw that many were murmuring at it, and that the prelates and lords were discussing it in small parties, he quitted the King's chamber, followed by the Earl of Derby, and entered the hall at Eltham, where he ordered a table to be spread, and they both sat down to dinner, while others were debating the business. On Sunday the whole council were gone to London, excepting the King and Sir Richard Sturry; these two, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Percy, mentioned me again to the King, who desired to see the book I had brought for him. I presented it to him in his chamber, for I had it with me, and laid it on his bed. He ought to have been pleased, for it was handsomely written and illuminated, and bound in crimson velvet, with ten silver-gilt studs, and roses of the same in the middle, with two large clasps of silver-gilt, richly worked with roses in the centre. The King asked me what the book treated of; I replied, 'Of Love!' He was pleased with the answer, and dipped into several places, reading aloud, for he read and spoke French perfectly well, and then gave it to one of his knights, Sir Richard Credon, to carry it to his oratory, and made me acknowledgments for it."

Henry IV. kept his court from time to time at Eltham, and here his marriage with Joan of Navarre was celebrated by proxy, a certain Antonio Riezi representing the bride even to the point of receiving the wedding ring on his finger.

Henry V., while keeping Christmas at Eltham in 1414, received news of a rebellion, upon which he left the palace immediately. One hesitates to credit Lambarde's statement—"for *fear* of some that had conspired to murder him." It is difficult to associate Harry of Monmouth, the hero of Agincourt, with the idea of fear. Probably his sudden movement was with a view of taking steps personally towards the suppression of the rebellion.

The unhappy Henry VI. spent one Christmas at the palace in the midst of his troubles, his Queen and their son being at the time at Harlech Castle.

Edward IV. was constantly at Eltham, and to his taste



it is believed we owe the great hall which is now the only remaining fragment of the palace. A daughter, Bridget, was born to him here, and christened in the chapel of the palace. She afterwards became a nun.

Lambarde says, with regard to Henry VII. and the palace—

“It is not yet fully out of memorie that King Henry VII. set up the faire front over the mote there; since whose reigne, this house, by reason of the neerenesse to Greenwich (which also was much amended by him, and is, through the benefite of the river, a seat of more commoditie) hath not been so greatly esteemed: the rather also for that the pleasures of the emparked groundes here may be in manner as well enjoyed, the Court lying at Greenwich, as if it were at this house it selfe.”

Henry VIII.'s preference for his birthplace, Greenwich, was probably as great a factor in the abandonment of Eltham, as any question of convenience. Holinshed gives the following account of Henry VIII.'s Christmas at Eltham, in 1515:—

“In the year 1515 the King kept a solemn Christmas at his manor of Eltham, and on the Twelfe Night, in the hall, was made a goodlie castle, wonderouslie set out, and in it certaine ladies and knights, and when the Kinge and Queene were set, in came other knights, and assailed the castle, where many a good stripe was given, and at last the assailants were beaten away, and then issued knights and ladies out of the castle, which ladies were stranglie disguised, for all their apparel was in braids of gold, fret with moving spangles of silver-gilt set on crimson satin, loose and not fastened; the men's apparel of the same suite made like julis of Hungary, and the ladies' heads and bodies after the fashion of Amsterdam; and when the dancing was done the banket was served in of two hundred dishes.”

Henry kept his Christmas at Eltham again in 1526, and in 1556 Queen Mary visited the place with her relative Cardinal Pole. Queen Elizabeth appears only to have come to Eltham once, in the first year of her reign, and then to have conceived such an idea of its unhealthiness as to neglect

the place entirely. She appointed Sir Christopher Hatton, who

“Moved the stout heart of England’s Queen,
Though Pope and Spaniard could not trouble it,”

keeper of the palace.

James I., while his brother-in-law, the King of Denmark, was visiting him at Greenwich, went hunting at Eltham, and killed three bucks. Perhaps the well-known print, often reproduced in books on hunting, showing James about to give the *coup de grâce* to a stag, may commemorate this very occasion.

One of the generals of the Parliamentary Army, Robert, Earl of Essex, occupied the palace during the Civil War, and died there in 1646 ; and, after the death of the King, an order for its sale was issued. The survey made by the Parliamentary Commissioners states that the palace was built of brick, wood, stone, and timber, and consisted of one fair chapel, one great hall, thirty-six rooms and offices below stairs, two large cellars, seventeen lodging-rooms on the King’s side, twelve on the Queen’s, nine on the Princes’, and seventy-eight rooms in the offices round the courtyard, the area of which was one acre.

Three parks were attached to the palace : the Great Park, containing 596 acres ; the Little or Middle Park, of 333 acres ; and the Horne or Lee Park, extending to 336 acres, all well stocked with deer.

The house, with the greater part of the lands, was purchased by Nathaniel Rich, who is referred to in his Diary by Evelyn, on April 22, 1656—

“Went to see his Majesty’s house at Eltham ; both the palace and chapel in miserable ruins ; the noble wood and park destroyed by Rich the rebel.”

The price paid by Rich for the house is stated to have been £2753.

The Crown resumed possession on the restoration of Charles II., who made a grant of the manor of Eltham to Sir John Shaw, and since that time it has never been the residence of any member of the Royal Family.

Eltham Palace was a quadrangular building, surrounded by a moat 60 feet wide, which in the part before the entrance was increased in width to 115 feet. On the inner bank of the moat stood the great gateway, approached by a bridge of four arches, dating from the reign of Edward IV., when drawbridges had begun to give way to fixed structures. At the time Buck's view of the palace was published the gateway was still standing. Buck's views are not to be relied upon for detail, however, and although he shows but one arch in the gateway, a smaller arch also is shown in the ancient plan of the palace, printed by Hasted. This plan was made about 1509, and shows the south side of the palace area entirely open to the park, but the other three sides completely enclosed by buildings.

The hall, however, as John Chessell Buckler writes, was the master feature of the palace. With a suite of rooms at either extremity, it rose in the centre of the surrounding buildings, as superior in the grandeur of its architecture as in the magnificence of its proportions and the amplitude of its dimensions. Its north and south sides were both open to quadrangles. Their architecture corresponded precisely, excepting that the south parapet was plain, while that on the other side facing the principal gate of entrance was embattled, and the cornice enriched with sculptured corbels.

These details about the parapets are ascertained from ancient drawings.

The dimensions of the hall are, length 100 feet, height 55 feet, width 36 feet.

The windows are arranged in couples in five spaces on each side of the hall; each window is divided by a single mullion, and outside, between each couple of windows, is a buttress. The lofty and graceful bays form a notable feature

of the design. The chief door of the hall faces the north, and was nearly opposite the main gateway. There is another doorway on the south, and both opened into the vestibule, partitioned off by the screen. Tracery surrounding the *rose en soleil*, the badge of King Edward IV., appears on the spandrels of the north doorway, and the presence of this badge elsewhere about the hall, and of another known as the Falcon and Fetlock, also identified with Edward IV., is the principal evidence of the date at which the hall was erected.

The roof, however, is the most splendid feature of the hall. Buckler says—

“Many of its most delicate enrichments have been gradually removed, but as its chief ornaments are the constituent members and not the minute carved work, these remain entire, and compose a design which merits and continues to receive as much praise as any existing work of antiquity. The principal beams of the roof repose on the summit of the walls, which are crowned with a broad and boldly projecting cornice of numerous mouldings. Every one of the frames thus joined, amounting to seven, includes a wide spreading arch, within and intersected with which are the handsome arches composing the essential features of the design, and the side segments rest on brackets which terminate on stone corbels beautifully formed. These segments joined to horizontal beams attached to the side cornices themselves assume the form and answer the purpose of brackets, since they sustain the main arches, whose elegance is much increased by the pendant corbels by which they are upheld. The remaining space between the arches and the apex is occupied by open wrought tracery.

“The loover occupied the third division from the upper end. The hexagonal framework from which it rose high above the external roof, rich in pinnacles and tracery, remains, and marks the situation of the hearth below. It was destroyed prior to the date of any drawing or engraving of the palace now known; but as no recessed fireplace in the side wall has been substituted for it, it is probable that the old method of warming the room was adhered to till the abandonment of the hall.”

An ancient half-timbered house adjoining the great hall probably formed part of the domestic buildings of the palace.

GREENWICH PALACE

GREENWICH, anciently known as East Greenwich to distinguish it from the adjoining parish of Deptford, which was formerly called West Greenwich, has been from the earliest date one of the most important places of interest on the lower Thames. It is noted in English history, in Saxon times, from the frequency with which the Danish marauders descended on and pillaged it. Early in the eleventh century, upon one of these incursions, the Danes seized Alphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, and carried him to their camp at Greenwich, where they endeavoured to force him to pay a heavy ransom. The Archbishop, determined not to provide the enemies of his native land with the sinews of war, resisted all demands and persuasions; and the Danes, exasperated at his staunchness, fell upon him, and slew him. His faithfulness unto death aroused so great a veneration, that he was canonized, and St. Alphege is the patron saint of the parish church at Greenwich.

The manor of Greenwich, after being in possession of the abbey of St. Peter, at Ghent, passed to the Crown on the fall of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. Henry V., who dissolved the alien priories in England, granted the manor of Greenwich to the monastery which he founded at Sheen, or Richmond, but it remained in possession of the monks but a short time, being presented by Henry VI., in 1433, to his uncle Humphrey,

Duke of Gloucester, who was the first member of the royal family to erect a palace of any importance and reside at Greenwich. This Humphrey it was whose reputed tomb in St. Paul's Cathedral was afterwards a landmark for the idlers who frequented the great church, and dining with Duke Humphrey became an euphemism for going dinnerless.

Edward I., however, is said to have had a residence of some kind at Greenwich, and Henry IV.'s will is dated from his manor of Greenwich, in 1408.

The grant to Duke Humphrey was of about two hundred acres of land, which he was licensed to enclose as a park; and four years afterwards a further licence was issued to Humphrey and his wife, "to embattle and build with stone" their manor-house, and also "to enclose and make a tower and ditch within the same, and a certain tower within the park to build and edify." The tower within the park was called Greenwich Castle, and occupied the site of the present Royal Observatory; the stone, embattled mansion was at the riverside, where the Royal Naval College now stands, and from Duke Humphrey it received the name of Pleasaunce, or Placentia, by which it was long known.

By Edward IV., additions were made to the park, and it was he who installed there the deer, which to this day remain one of its attractive features. Edward granted the palace to his Queen, Elizabeth Woodville.

When Henry VII. had overcome Richard III. and assumed the Crown, he took possession of the manor, and set about adding to the size and splendour of the palace. He erected a new river front in brick, which, from various still existing views, appears to have resembled closely the palaces at Hampton Court and Richmond. He also completed the tower in the park, which Duke Humphrey had begun, and built close to the palace a convent for Grey Friars, afterwards suppressed by his son, re-established by one of his granddaughters, Mary, and finally suppressed by the other, Elizabeth.

At Greenwich was born the heir to the two rival factions of York and Lancaster, Henry VIII.; and in the parish church there he was baptized. Henry always retained a marked partiality for his birthplace, and lavished money profusely in increasing its splendour and displaying it to the world at the many costly banquets, tournaments, and fêtes he held there. At Greenwich he was married to his first wife, Katherine of Arragon; and there he conveyed Anne Boleyn, until the time came for him to make public announcement of his marriage to her, when she was escorted in state by river, to London, to be crowned. Here is an account, from Hall's "Chronicles," of the festivities observed at Greenwich, probably in 1512 or 1513.

"The King, after Parliament was ended, kept a solemne Christemas at Grenewicke to chere his nobles, and on the twelfe daie at night, came into the hall a mount, called the rich mount. The mount was sett ful of rich flowers of silk, and especially full of brome slippes full of coddess; the braunches wer grene sattin, and the flowers flat gold of damaske, whiche signified Plantagenet. On the top stode a goodly bekon gevyng light; rounde about the bekon sat the Kyng and five other, al in coates and cappes of right crimosin velvet, embroudered with flat gold of damaske; the coates set full of spangelles of gold. And four woodhouses drew the mount till it came before the Quene, and then the Kyng and his compaignie descended and daunced; then sodainly the mount opened, and out came sixe ladies, all in crimosin satin and plunket embroudered with gold and perle, and French hoddess on their heddes, and thei daunced alone. Then the lords of the mount took the ladies and daunced together; and the ladies re-entered and the mount closed, and so was conveyghed out of the hall. Then the Kyng shifted hym and came to the Quene, and sat at the banquete which was very sumpteous."

And here, again, from the same source, is an account of the first masquerade ever performed in England, at Henry's merry-making at Greenwich, at Christmas 1515.

"The Kyng this yere kept the feast of Christmas at Grenewick, wher was such abundance of viandes served to all comers of any honest behaviors, as hath been few times seen; and against New-yere's night was made, in the hall, a castle, gates, towers, and dungeon, garnished with artillerie and

weapons after the most warlike fashion ; and on the front was written, *Le Fortresse dangerus* ; and within the castle wer six ladies clothed in russet satin laid all over with leves of golde, and every owde knit with laces of blewe silk and golde, on their heddes coyfes and cappes, all of gold. After this castle had been carried about the hal, and the Quene had behelde it, in came the Kyng with five other appareled in coates, the one halfe of russet satin spangled with spangels of fine gold, and the other halfe rich clothe of gold ; on ther heddes caps of russet satin, embroudered with workes of fine gold bullion. These six assaulted the castle, the ladies seyng them so lustie and coragious wer content to solace with them, and upon further communication to yeld the castle, and so thei came down and daunced a long space. And after the ladies led the knightes into the castle, and then the castle sodainly vanished out of ther sightes. On the daie of the Epiphanie, at nighte, the Kyng with xi other wer distinguished after the manner of Italie, called a maske, a thing not seen afore in Englande ; thei wer appareled in garments long and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers and cappes of gold ; and after the banket doen, those maskers came in with six gentleman disguised in silke, bearing staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce ; some were content, and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thing commonly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the maske is, thei took ther leave and departed, and so did the Quene and all the ladies."

Greenwich was the birthplace of both Henry's daughters, Mary and Elizabeth ; and his sister Mary, the widowed Queen of France, solemnized her love-match with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in the parish church there. It may be inferred that the chapel of the palace was incommodious, as Henry's baptism also had taken place in the parish church, and that of Elizabeth in the church of the Grey Friars. The banquet given by Wolsey at Hampton Court, in 1527, to the French ambassadors is mentioned in the article on Hampton Court. Henry followed it by entertaining them at Greenwich in still more sumptuous fashion. Stow's account of some of the ceremonies is interesting. He says,—

"In the midst of the banquet there was tourneying at the barriers, with lusty gentlemen in complete harness, very gorgeous, on foot ; then there was tilting on horseback with knights in armour, still more magnificent ; and after

GREENWICH PALACE
FROM OBSERVATORY HILL



this was an interlude or disguising, made in Latin, the players being in the richest costumes, ornamented with the most strange and grotesque devices. This done, there came such a number of the fairest ladies and gentlewomen that had any renown of beauty throughout the realm, in the most rich apparel that could be devised, with whom the gentlemen of France danced, until a gorgeous mask of gentlemen came in, who danced and masked with these ladies. This done came in another mask of ladies, who took each of them one of the Frenchmen by the hand to dance and to mask. These women maskers every one spoke good French to the Frenchmen, which delighted them very much to hear their mother tongue. Thus was the night consumed, from five of the clock until three of the clock after midnight."

At Greenwich, on May Day, 1536, Anne Boleyn was arrested, and conveyed thence to the Tower, where, nineteen days afterwards, she was executed. And here, in 1540, Henry was married to his fourth wife, Anne of Cleves.

Edward VI.'s reign was too brief to leave any mark on Greenwich, where he died in 1553. And Mary, whose occupancy of the throne was also of but short duration, only occasionally resided there. But, on Elizabeth's accession, Greenwich became once more frequently a seat of the court; and, shortly after she inherited the throne, she reviewed a large company of troops in the park there, the proceedings closing with a mimic battle, in which all the circumstances of actual warfare were reproduced except the bloodshed. Miss Agnes Strickland, in her "*Lives of the Queens of England*," gives the following account of the proceedings:—

"The Londoners were so lovingly disposed to their maiden sovereign, that when she withdrew to her summer bower at Greenwich, they were fain to devise all sorts of gallant shows to furnish excuses for following her there, to enjoy from time to time the sunshine of her presence. They prepared a sort of civic tournament in honour of her Majesty, July 2nd, each company supplying a certain number of men-at-arms, 1400 in all, all clad in velvet and chains of gold, with guns, morris pikes, halberds, and flags; and so marched they over London Bridge, into the Duke of Suffolk's park, at Southwark, where they mustered before the Lord Mayor; and in order to initiate themselves into the hardships of a campaign, they lay abroad in St. George's Fields all that night. The next morning they set forward in goodly array, and entered Greenwich Park at an early hour, where they reposed themselves till eight o'clock, and then marched down into the lawn, and mustered in their

arms, all the gunners being in shirts of mail. It was not, however, till even-tide that her Majesty deigned to make herself visible to the doughty bands of Cockaine—chivalry they cannot properly be called, for they had discreetly avoided exposing civic horsemanship to the mockery of the gallant equestrians of the Court, and they trusted no other legs than their own with the weight of their valour and warlike accoutrements, in addition to their velvet gabardines and chains of gold, in which this midsummer bevy had bivouacked in St. George's Fields on the preceding night. At five o'clock the Queen came into the gallery of Greenwich Park gate, with the ambassadors, lords and ladies—a fair and numerous company—to witness a tilting match, in which some of the citizens, and several of her Grace's courtiers took part."

Elizabeth's first chapter of the Order of the Garter was held at Greenwich, and, later in the day, the Queen took part in the river fête, remaining in a barge on the Thames until ten at night, mingling freely with the enthusiastic crowds.

From Miss Strickland's work, too, is taken the following amusing story concerning Elizabeth's life at Greenwich :—

"One of her Majesty's purveyors having been guilty of some abuses in the county of Kent, on her removal to Greenwich, a sturdy countryman, watching the time when she took her morning walk with the lords and ladies of her household, placed himself conveniently for catching the royal eye and ear, and, when he saw her attention perfectly disengaged, began to cry in a loud voice, 'Which is the queen?' Whereupon, as her manner was, she turned herself towards him; but he continuing his clamorous question, she herself answered, 'I am your queen; what wouldest thou have with me?' 'You,' rejoined the farmer, archly gazing upon her with a look of incredulity, not unmingled with admiration—'you are one of the rarest women I ever saw, and can eat no more than my daughter Madge, who is thought the properest lass in our parish, though short of you; but that Queen Elizabeth I look for devours so many of my hens, ducks, and capons, that I am not able to live.'"

The adroitly paid compliment won its reward, and the man was freed from his oppression.

Miss Strickland is also the writer of the following account of the feet-washing ceremony at Greenwich, on Maundy Thursday, in 1572. It was the custom then in England, as it still is in Austria for instance, for the sovereign personally to wash the feet of the same number of poor folk as the sovereign had lived years, in commemoration of the washing

of the feet of the apostles by Christ Himself on the night before His passion. It was an observance intended, no doubt, at its institution to recall to the mind of the greatest in the kingdom the fact that the sovereign is necessarily the servant as well as the ruler of his people. Miss Strickland's description is as follows:—

“Elizabeth will scarcely be blamed in modern times because she performed the office daintily. The palace hall was prepared with a long table on each side, with benches, carpets, and cushions, and a cross table at the upper end, where the chaplain stood. Thirty-nine poor women, being the same number as the years of her Majesty's age at that time, entered, and were seated on the forms; then the yeoman of the laundry, armed with a fair towel, took a silver basin filled with warm water and sweet flowers, and washed all their feet, one after the other; he likewise made a cross a little above the toes, and kissed each foot after drying it; the sub-almoner performed the same ceremony, and the Queen's almoner also. Then her Majesty entered the hall, and went to a priedieu and cushion, placed in the space between the two tables, and remained during prayers and singing, and while the Gospel was read, how Christ washed His Apostles' feet. Then came in procession thirty-nine of the Queen's maids of honour and gentlewomen, each carrying a silver basin with warm water, spring flowers, and sweet herbs, having aprons and towels withal. Then her Majesty, kneeling down on the cushion placed for the purpose, proceeded to wash, in turn, one of the feet of each of the poor women, and wiped them with the assistance of the fair basin-bearers; moreover, she crossed and kissed them, as the others had done. Then, beginning with the first, she gave each a sufficient broad cloth for a gown, and a pair of shoes, a wooden platter, wherein was half a side of salmon, as much ling, six red herrings, two manchetts, and a mazer, or a wooden cup full of claret. All these things she gave separately. Then each of the ladies delivered to her Majesty the towel and the apron used in the ablution, and she gave each of the poor women one apiece. This was the conclusion of the ladies' official duty of the Maundy. The treasurer of the royal chamber, Mr. Heneage, brought her Majesty thirty-nine small white leather purses, each with thirty-nine pence, which she gave separately to every poor woman. Mr. Heneage then supplied her with thirty-nine red purses, each containing twenty shillings; this she distributed to redeem the gown she wore, which by ancient custom was given to one chosen among the number.”

Hentzner, whose “Itinerary” is quoted elsewhere, in this volume, gives a minute description of his attendance, one Sunday, at the Presence Chamber at Greenwich. All fell on

their knees as the Queen passed, and to the cries of "Long live Queen Elizabeth," the Queen responded, "I thank you, my good people." Hentzner comments particularly upon the magnificence of her jewels, on the fact that her bosom was uncovered "as all the English ladies have it till they marry" [Elizabeth was sixty-five at the time], and that she wore false hair of a red colour.

Greenwich is one of the places to which the tradition attaches that Sir Walter Raleigh there placed his cloak on the ground for the Queen to cross a miry spot.

When James I. succeeded Elizabeth, he assigned Greenwich to his Queen Anne of Denmark as her own residence, and she commenced to erect between the palace and the park a building known as the House of Delight, the architect of which was Inigo Jones. It appears, in one of the views by Hollar, sharply contrasting with the towers and high gables of the Tudor work. It was completed under Henrietta Maria, and now forms the centre of the buildings occupied as the Royal Naval School.

Charles I. showed here, as elsewhere, his marked partiality for the fine arts. Rubens and Jordaens were frequently in attendance at Greenwich on the King and Queen, and Gentileschi painted most of the ceiling of the palace.

As with other of the royal domains, the parliament, after the death of the King, ordered the sale of the palace and park, but only a few outlying premises were actually sold, and Greenwich was subsequently, with Whitehall and Hampton Court, put in the possession of Cromwell.

On the restoration of Charles II. the palace was found to be in such ill repair, that the King decided to pull it down and rebuild it. Sir John Denham, the poet, was appointed architect, but, distrustful of his powers, he employed as his assistant Webb, the son-in-law of Inigo Jones; and it has been surmised that designs actually the work of Jones were, in effect, made use of.

GREENWICH PALACE
FROM THE RIVER



Evelyn, in his diary, October 19, 1661, gives an account of a consultation in which he took part about the new building. He appears to have wished a large square inlet from the river to have been made, so that the palace, although placed further inland, should still have had an approach by water. Sir John, however, wished to build on piles on the very margin of the river. Evelyn concludes his entry: "which I did not assent to, and so came away, knowing Sir John to be a better poet than architect."

It is curious that Sir John Denham should have been concerned in the erection of the greatest architectural ornament of the Thames side, and also have been the author of the most famous lines ever written about the Thames.

"Though deep yet clear, though gentle yet not dull,
Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full."

Pepys, too, records a visit to Greenwich at this time, where he "observed the foundation-laying of a very great house for the King, which will cost a great deal of money!"

And money was exactly what Charles never had a sufficiency of, so no more than one wing of the projected palace was erected, and, having spent £36000 on that, Charles abandoned his plans, and nothing further in the way of building was done during his reign or that of his brother.

William and Mary had no inclination to reside at Greenwich, and the palace was merely a costly incumbrance, until Mary conceived the idea of converting it into a hospital for disabled sailors. Letters patent were accordingly issued, granting the buildings and land to trustees for carrying out the Queen's scheme. Two months afterwards the Queen died, and the benevolent intention might have been frustrated if it had not been for the passionate attachment of William to the memory of his wife. As a result of this, there was not even a pause in the proceedings, and the King carried out the wishes of his wife, when he had lost her, with the desire to erect a lasting memorial to her virtues.

The portion of King Charles II.'s new palace which was incorporated in the hospital is on the west side of the great square, and is built about an inner quadrangle. The similar block on the east side is known as Queen Anne's building, for although it was commenced in 1698, it was not completed until after her accession. To the south of Queen Anne's and King Charles's buildings, are the ones known as Queen Mary's and King William's. Queen Mary's contains the chapel, which is not, however, the original edifice, but one that replaced it after its destruction by fire in 1779, James Stuart being the architect.

King William's building contains the famous Painted Hall, a structure designed by Sir Christopher Wren, who is said to have given his services as a contribution to the charity. It was originally intended as the great dining-hall of the hospital, but has been converted into a picture gallery of naval heroes. The ceiling of the great hall and the walls of the upper hall were painted by Sir James Thornhill.

After the establishment of the hospital, the name of Greenwich ceased to figure in records of the English Court, except when at intervals some notable person made it a landing place, on arriving from the Continent. The Princess Augusta, bride of Frederick Prince of Wales, and the Princess Caroline, bride of George IV., both landed at Greenwich; and the landing of George I. there, is depicted in one of Thornhill's pictures in the upper chamber of the Painted Hall.

THE TOWER OF LONDON

Prince. I do not like the Tower, of any place :—
Did Julius Cæsar build that place, my lord ?

Buckingham. He did, my gracious lord, begin that place ;
Which, since, succeeding ages have re-edified.

Prince. Is it upon record ? or else reported
Successively from age to age, he built it ?

Buckingham. Upon record, my gracious lord.

THUS Shakespeare in his "Richard III." To what record he refers it is not possible now to discover. A monkish chronicle, probably, that was compounded mainly of traditions, such as that which ascribes the origin of the English to Brutus. The name Cæsar's Tower has come down from generation to generation, but no record that can be relied upon gives any definite account of the existence on this spot of a fortress in Roman London. Mention of a stronghold here in Saxon times is found, but the buildings as they now exist in general outline were begun by William the Conqueror, and the great central block, known generally as the White Tower, dates from his reign. It is the most venerable of the royal palaces of Europe, and though transformed externally by successive repairs and modifications, remains in all essentials the massive fortress-palace, which testifies to the sense of insecurity in his capital felt by the first of the Norman rulers of England. The architect

of the White Tower was Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, where the castle and cathedral show evidences of the work of the same hand that designed the Tower. The other portions which he built were the original church of St. Peter, within the Tower, and the Hall or Jewel Tower. Gundulf had the good fortune to live to such an advanced age that he saw his plans for the London fortress completely carried out.

The White Tower is ninety feet high, and the walls are from twelve to fifteen feet thick. It is constructed in four storeys: the vaults, the main floor, the banqueting floor, and the state-floor. On each storey are three chambers, not including the stairs, corridor, and small rooms enclosed within the thickness of the walls. On each floor, running north and south, the full length of the tower, are two rooms, one facing westward, one eastward, and a cross chamber at the south-west. Even the partition walls between the rooms have a thickness of not less than ten feet. At each corner of the Tower is a turret, one of which is round. On the vault storey is the chamber known as the Little Ease, and two other dungeons. On the main floor, a guard room, a second room, and a crypt. On the banqueting-floor is the banqueting hall, the only room in the keep which has a fireplace. On the state-room floor is the great council chamber, and a smaller hall, where the justiciaries sat. Occupying the space of the cross chamber on these two floors is the chapel of St. John, its loftiness shearing the uppermost floor of one chamber. This chapel is the most perfect specimen remaining in England of the Norman ecclesiastical architecture in its severest type. It resembles in a marked degree the choir of the priory church of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, and both show the nearness of the typical Norman Church to the Roman Basilica. But whereas St. Bartholomew's has been altered and patched, so that only a suggestion of its original Norman purity remains, St. John's Chapel

is to this day practically in the condition in which it left the builder's hands.

In 1140 King Stephen came with his court to the Tower to spend Whitsuntide there. In Richard's I.'s reign, his deputy Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, desiring to outwit the King's brother, Prince John, built an outer wall of stone, and surrounded it with a wide steep ditch, which was filled by an inlet from the Thames. This is the first we hear of the moat, though Stow in after years details gravely the various lands and buildings which were filched from neighbouring proprietors in order to construct it. King John was frequently resident in the Tower, and there incarcerated the beautiful Maud Fitzwalter, who refused to receive his addresses. She was kept a prisoner for some length of time, and her family banished, and eventually she was poisoned by one of the King's creatures.

Henry III., the next sovereign to add to the buildings, had a passion for architecture, as his work at Westminster Abbey testifies. He spent both time and money in enlarging the Tower, and is said to have been his own architect. His additions included the Water Gate, the wharf, the Cradle Tower, the Lantern and the Galleyman Tower, and, as some say, the first wall; but as the building of a wall by Longchamp is on record, it is probable that what Henry did was to strengthen it. He also added greatly to the sumptuousness of the interior, adorning it with frescoes and sculptures, and decorating in gorgeous fashion the Chapel of St. John and the Church of St. Peter.

Edward I. was the next to add to the place. In his days St. Peter's Church, having fallen into decay, was removed, and the building which still remains erected in its place. Bayley was of opinion that the work of Edward I. brought the Tower to completion, so far as structure was concerned, and that all subsequent work was of the nature of upkeep or modification.

An interesting passage in the works of Raymond Lully,

a famous alchymist, whom Edward I. invited to pay a visit to England, declares that, in the secret chamber of St. Katherine, in the Tower of London, he performed in the royal presence the experiment of transmuting some crystal into a mass of diamond, or adamant, as he terms it, of which, he says, the King made little pillars for the tabernacle of God. Popular rumours asserted that Edward was indebted to Lully's magical arts for a quantity of gold, with which he intended to defray the cost of an expedition to the Holy Land.

The great tragedy of Edward II.'s reign had its opening act in the Tower, for it was there that Queen Isabella met with and became enamoured of one of her husband's prisoners, Roger Mortimer. Whether or no she connived at his escape is uncertain, but escape he did by way of a chimney, and, a boat being in readiness on the river, he made good his flight to France. Between them, Isabella and Mortimer brought about the final act in Berkeley Castle, which, when the young King had been for a short while on the throne, they expiated, the one by years of seclusion in a nunnery, the other on the gallows. A document of the fourth year of Richard II. sets out that—

"the franchise of the Tower stretcheth from the water-side unto the end of Petty Wales, to the end of Tower Street, and so straight unto a mud wall, and from thence straight east to the wall of the city, and from thence to the postern south, and from thence straight to a great elm before the Abbot of Tower Hill's rents, and from thence to another elm standing upon Tower Ditch, and from that elm by a mud wall straight forth into Thames."

The mud wall referred to was, in 1316, pulled down by the citizens of London. Always jealous of any encroachment on their rights, they were, probably, on this occasion, acting upon the belief that the wall was a pretext for adding to the liberty of the Tower some portion of the land of the City of London. Their hasty action, however, proved unfortunate, for they were compelled, not only to restore the wall, but to pay a fine of a thousand marks.

In Richard's time the Tower saw more pageantry and splendour than in any previous reign, and Richard's formal abdication of the throne, in favour of Henry VI., took place in the council chamber of the White Tower in 1399. Shakespeare makes the scene of the abdication Westminster Hall, and his version of Richard's speech is a wonderful summary of kingly renunciation.

"I give this heavy weight from off my head,
And this unwieldy sceptre from my hand,
The pride of kingly sway from out my heart;
With mine own tears I wash away my balm,
With mine own hands I give away my crown,
With mine own tongue deny my sacred state,
With mine own breath release all duteous oaths :
All pomp and majesty I do forswear ;
My manors, rents, revenues, I forego ;
My acts, decrees, and statutes I deny :
God pardon all oaths that are broke to me !
God keep all oaths unbroke are made to thee !
Make me, that nothing have, with nothing griev'd ;
And thou with all pleas'd, that hast all achiev'd !
Long mayst thou live in Richard's seat to sit,
And soon lie Richard in an earthen pit !
God save King Henry, unking'd Richard says,
And send him many years of sunshine days !
What more remains ? "

Poor king, nothing remained but that he should be hurried into the earthen pit he desired. His murder in the Tower would, however, have been a dangerous action, and he was removed to Pomfret Castle for the last scene of all.

Through all these reigns the sovereigns made use of the Tower as a palace whenever it suited their taste or convenience, but its character as a prison, as well as palace, had been steadily growing, from the time when Flambard, Bishop of Durham, was imprisoned by Henry I. He escaped by means of a rope conveyed to him in a wine cask, and, making a descent of sixty-five feet, dangling from the window of his

chamber, got safe to the river and so to France. The next important prisoner who tried the same method of obtaining his freedom was, however, less lucky. This was Griffin, a Welsh Prince, surrendered to Edward I. by his brother David. Griffin tried a drop of ninety feet, and his rope was made out of his bed-clothes. According to a drawing in Matthew Paris's own copy of his "*Historia Anglorum*," Griffin fixed his rope to the parapet. The unhappy captive fell, and was killed. Of Maud Fitzwalter mention has already been made. Edward I. and Edward III., or rather the latter's Queen, Philippa, each lodged a famous Scottish prisoner in the Tower—the former John Balliol, the latter David Bruce.

In Richard II.'s reign a noble was incarcerated in the Tower, whose name has ever since been identified with the building in which he was lodged, known as the Beauchamp Tower. This was Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who had been appointed governor or guardian to his youthful monarch. His determination to rid the King of his profligate companion, Sir Simon de Burley, so infuriated Richard, that Beauchamp was never forgiven. He was banished to the Isle of Man, but afterwards brought to the Tower, where he remained until he was released by Henry IV., Richard's successor.

Of Henry IV. and the Tower there is nothing of importance to record, but in Henry V.'s reign it held one of the most illustrious of its many captives, Charles of Orleans, grandson of Charles V. of France. After the battle of Agincourt he was found on the field, badly wounded, and taken by Henry to his own tent, where he personally attended on him, and persuaded him to take his food, which he at first rejected. Then, carried to England, he was placed in the Tower, a ransom of 300,000 crowns being demanded for his release. All through Henry's reign and far into that of his successor he remained a prisoner, until, after five and twenty years' captivity, the ransom was



J. New.

forthcoming, and he returned to his native country, to marry again, and become the father of a child who was afterwards Louis XII. He spent the time of his imprisonment writing verses, both in French and English, for he had command of both languages. A volume in the British Museum which has been supposed to be a bridal present from Henry VII. to his wife, contains some illuminations representing this Prince's captivity, and in them we get the earliest views of the Tower. The first shows the Prince in the banqueting-hall of the Tower, seated at his desk, writing, with his attendants around, and guards on duty; the second, leaning upon a window-sill, gazing out, pensively, as though pining for the liberty that is denied him. In the next he appears outside the White Tower, welcoming the messenger who has brought the ransom. The next shows him mounting his horse. Then he is seen riding away with his deliverer; and, finally, he is seated in a barge, being rowed down stream to the ship which is to take him home.

In Henry V.'s reign, too, the Tower held the celebrated Sir John Oldcastle, a champion of Wycliffe. He was confined in the Beauchamp Tower, but his popularity was so great that the citizens broke into it, and released him. He was a wanderer and outlaw for four years, until he was betrayed in Wales and brought to London, where he was burned at the stake in front of his own house in Smithfield,—perhaps the gravest blot on the reign of this popular King.

Edward IV. and Richard III. each executed important repairs at the Tower, and Edward set up a scaffold and gallows upon Tower Hill, which the citizens regarded as a breach of their privileges. Even the King did not venture to insist, and they were removed.

Richard III. imprisoned here Sir Henry Wyatt, the father of the poet, of whom the story is told that a stray cat which became attached to him supplied him with pigeons of her own catching, which the gaoler cooked for him. Richard's greatest crimes were enacted in the Tower.

Here, in the council chamber, he accused Lord Hastings of having withered his arm by witchcraft, and straightway hurried him out on to the green, where he was beheaded on a chance baulk of timber. Here, in the Hall Tower, he is said to have stabbed King Henry whilst he was at his prayers. Here, in the Bowyer Tower, he is believed to have drowned his brother, the Duke of Clarence, in a butt of wine; and here, finally, his myrmidons made away with the two nephews who stood between him and the throne. He had concocted a tale about their bastardy, but fearing that might be discredited, or not regarded as sufficient bar to their succession, he resolved on their removal. To Sir John Brackenbury, at his devotions in St. John's Chapel, came the order for their destruction. Sir John refused. Then Sir James Tyrrell, Richard's Master of Horse, was despatched post-haste to London with power to supersede Brackenbury for one night. He brought with him two bravoës willing to do any crime for money, and witnessed the murder of the Princes by them; then returned to assure his master of their death. The bodies were secretly buried outside the building, but afterwards, by Richard's order, reinterred beneath a staircase inside the keep. Henry VII. made a futile search for them, so as to enable him to prove that Perkin Warbeck was an impostor by the evidence of the body of the very Prince he impersonated, but it was not till the reign of Charles II. that the remains were discovered, and by that King re-buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster Abbey. The tower in which this tragedy was enacted was a part of the royal apartments, and bore the name of the Garden Tower, but it became popularly known from that time onward as the Bloody Tower.

In Henry VIII.'s time the Tower gaolers were kept busily employed, as one after another of his victims was incarcerated. Two of his six queens knew the grim fortress as their prison after it had been their palace—Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard; and, after the ordeal of the scaffold,

were laid to rest in the little chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula. John Fisher, created a Cardinal by Pope Paul III. at the moment he was under the King's displeasure for opposing his assumption of the title Supreme Head, learned the inflexibility of Henry's determination that, if the Pope gave him the Cardinal's hat, he should "wear it on his shoulders;" for, despite his great age, he was brought to the block on Tower Green, and laid in the little church, with the royal and other high company. Sir Thomas More, the Cardinal's great friend, incurred the same fate; and the old Countess of Salisbury, who refused to lay her head on the block, and was beheaded by the executioner standing. The poet Earl of Surrey, whose crime was the emblazoning on his shield of the arms of the Confessor, was decapitated; and his father, the Duke of Norfolk, after imprisonment in the Tower, only escaped the axe by the death of the King*the very night on which the warrant for his execution had been signed.

The leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace, which had been inaugurated in the north of England with the object of forcing on Henry a return to the Papal allegiance, all found a prison in the Tower, and went thence either to the block, the gallows, or the stake. Amongst them were Robert Aske, Lord Darcy, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Francis Bigod, Adam Sedbergh, Abbot of Jervaulx, William Thirske, Abbot of Fountains, and Madge Cheyne, a woman with the stout heart of a man.

Edward VI.'s short reign saw the execution of his two uncles, the brothers of Queen Jane Seymour, the first through the craft of the second, the other by the cunning of the Duke of Northumberland.

No sooner was the young King dead, than Lady Jane Dudley, generally spoken of by her maiden name as Lady Jane Grey, was hurried to the Tower from Syon House, Isleworth, by her scheming father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland, and there proclaimed Queen, in defiance of the rights of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. For the

brief space of nine days the Tower was the palace of Queen Jane, and then it became her prison until she and her boy husband, Lord Guilford Dudley, and her father-in-law, all passed to the scaffold.

In Mary's reign there also entered the Tower, only to leave it for their deaths, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishops Latimer and Ridley, whilst the Queen's sister Elizabeth entered at Traitor's Gate a prisoner, repudiating the accusation of disloyalty, which the place of arrival implied, by a loud disclaimer.

The following is an account by Paul Hentzner of his visit to the Tower in the reign of Queen Elizabeth :—

“Upon entering the Tower of London we were obliged to leave our swords at the gate, and deliver them to the guard. When we were introduced, we were shown above a hundred pieces of arras belonging to the Crown, made of gold, silver, and silk ; several saddles covered with velvet of different colours ; an immense quantity of bed furniture such as canopies and the like, some of them richly ornamented with pearl, some royal dresses, so extremely magnificent as to raise any one's admiration at the sums they must have cost. We were next led to the Armoury, in which are these particularities : spears out of which you may shoot ; shields that will give fire four times ; a great many rich halberds, commonly called partisans, with which the guard defends the royal person in battle ; some lances covered with red and green velvet, and the suit of armour of King Henry VIII. ; many and very beautiful arms, as well for men as for horse fights ; the lance of Charles Branden, Duke of Suffolk, three spans thick ; two pieces of cannon—the one fires three, the other seven balls at a time ; two others made of wood, which the English had at the siege of Boulogne in France—and by this stratagem, without which they could not have succeeded, they struck a terror as, at the appearance of artillery, and the town was surrendered upon articles ; nineteen cannons of a thicker make than ordinary, and in a room apart thirty-six of a smaller ; other cannons for chain shot, and balls proper to bring down masts of ships ; cross-bows, bows and arrows, of which to this day the English make use in their exercises. But who can relate all that is to be seen here ? Eight or nine men employed by the year are scarce sufficient to keep all the arms bright.

“The mint for coining money is in the Tower. N.B.—It is to be noted that when any of the nobility are sent hither on the charge of high crimes, punishable with death, such as murder, etc., they seldom or never recover their liberty.

“Here was beheaded Anna Bolen, wife of King Henry VIII., and lies

buried in the chapel, but without any inscription ; and Queen Elizabeth was kept prisoner here by her sister Queen Mary, at whose death she was enlarged and by right called to the throne. On coming out of the Tower we were led to a small house close by where are kept variety of creatures, viz. three lionesses, one lion of a great size called Edward VI. from his having been born in that reign ; a tiger, a lynx, a wolf exceeding old ; this is a very scarce animal in England, so that their sheep and cattle stray about in great numbers without any danger, though without anybody to keep them : there is besides a porcupine and an eagle : all these creatures are kept in a remote place fitted up for the purpose with wooden lattices at the Queen's expense.

"Near to this Tower is a large open space : on the higher part of it (Tower Hill) is erected a wooden scaffold for the execution of noble criminals ; upon which they say three princes of England, the last of their families, have been beheaded for high treason. On the Thames close by are a great many cannons, such chiefly as are used at sea."

The collection of animals to which Hentzner alludes was one of the leading features of the Tower until, early in the nineteenth century, it was removed to the new gardens of the Zoological Society. It was commenced with three leopards sent as a present to Henry III. by the Emperor Frederick, and from time to time augmented by other royal gifts. From the practice of exhibiting this royal menagerie to the public, the popular phrase, "seeing the lions," is supposed to have originated. James I. was fond of witnessing combats here between the Tower lions and dogs.

Elizabeth, strong and fearless as her father, spared none who opposed her or even appeared likely to prove dangerous, and amongst those who suffered imprisonment in the Tower during her reign were her relatives Edmund and Arthur Pole, the nephews of the Cardinal. They had been guilty of endeavouring to procure that Mary Queen of Scots should, if not depose her, at any rate succeed her. Elizabeth never signed their death-warrant, although they were condemned to death. They were left to wear out their weary lives in the Beauchamp Tower, with only the solace of each other's company. Their inscriptions on the prison walls are amongst the

most touching of the many pathetic memorials of captivity left by prisoners. Edmund's reads, "*Qui seminant in lachrymis in exultatione metent*," a promise which he must have found of comfort in his dreariness, while Arthur's utterance, in English, is the sweet expression of longing for the end: "A passage perillus maketh a porte pleasant." Death found them still prisoners, and they joined their kin in St. Peter's Church. Another relative whom Elizabeth sent to the Tower was Margaret Countess of Lennox, who had dared to ally her son, Lord Darnley, to the hated Queen of Scots. She was not released until after the murder of her son at Kirk of Field.

Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, for conspiring with Spain against the Queen—a crime frustrated by another Howard,—endured a lifelong imprisonment in the Tower; and the unhappy Earl of Essex, after enjoying the favour and confidence of the Queen, paid the penalty of his rash act of rebellion by imprisonment and execution there. That he was taunted on his way to the scaffold by Sir Walter Raleigh is a calumny upon the latter now generally discredited. Raleigh himself had a foretaste of his long captivity in the Tower, by being immured there by Elizabeth, for having seduced Elizabeth Throgmorton, one of her maids of honour, whom he afterwards married. On that occasion he was lodged in the Brick Tower, which was the residence of his cousin Sir George Carew, Master of the Ordnance.

His next imprisonment immediately followed the accession of James I. Hated more than any other Englishman by England's most inveterate foe Spain, the crafty and timorous James, who was the typical "peace at any price" man, hit upon the idea of placating Spain by imprisoning Raleigh. A plot, which quite possibly never existed except in the imagination of James, for placing on the throne the Lady Arabella Stuart, was said to be discovered, and Arabella's brother, Lord Cobham, who was also declared a participant, to save his own head, accused Raleigh of

complicity. This time he was placed in the Bloody Tower. His imprisonment lasted fourteen years; and his wife, and son, and their servants lived with him in the Tower, on a pittance of five pounds a week. He was allowed to occupy himself with chemical experiments, and was visited by Prince Henry, whose remark, "No one but my father would keep such a bird in a cage," is famous. Here, in prison, a second son was born to him, who survived his father. The elder accompanied him when the cupidity of James induced him to forego his malice and allow Raleigh to set out on his expedition to Guiana in quest of the fabled golden city. He returned unsuccessful, and left the body of his elder son in a South American grave. Immediately upon his arrival in England he was again placed in the Tower, first in the Wardrobe Tower, afterwards in the Brick Tower, and, before long, laid his head on the block. During his imprisonment he wrote, besides many other shorter works, his immortal "History of the World"—a fragment only of a vast conception, but a fragment the fame of which has endured to our own day.

Lady Arabella Stuart, an inconvenient relative for the suspicious James, after five years' incarceration in the Tower, died insane.

The same reign saw lodged there the principal leaders of the Gunpowder Plot, but they were all taken to their death outside the Tower precincts. James was also indirectly responsible for the murder, in the Bloody Tower, of Sir Thomas Overbury, who had endeavoured to prevent the marriage of his friend Ker with the divorced Countess of Essex. Francis Bacon, on his fall, passed a single day in the Tower,—probably the shortest period on record allotted to any famous man. In Charles I.'s reign, Felton, the assassin of Buckingham, found quarters there. Charles himself committed the nine members to the Tower, and his friends Laud and Strafford both passed their last days and met their doom within the gloomy walls.

Charles II.'s reign saw a variety of political prisoners in the old fortress—James Harrington, the author of "Oceana;" the Duke of Richmond; the Duke of Buckingham; Penn, the Quaker; Lord William Russell, and the Earl of Essex; who, so it was given out, committed suicide in despair at the discovery of his complicity in the Rye House Plot. There were, however, grave suspicions that he was conveniently removed as the only person who could clear Russell, whose death was determined upon. Lord Stafford, a victim to the machinations of Titus Oates, and Algernon Sidney were other unwilling inmates in this reign, and passed from out the walls only to die on the scaffold.

In Charles II.'s reign the famous attempt to steal the Regalia was made by Colonel Blood—an audacious scheme, which was within an ace of being successful; and Pepys, the diarist, about this time, was engaged in an endeavour to discover buried treasure in the Tower.

In James II.'s reign, the most notable prisoner was his own nephew, the Duke of Monmouth, who, after his unsuccessful rebellion, was imprisoned and executed here. Here, also, James committed the seven Bishops to prison. Not long after, a prisoner was admitted through whose ferocity many had passed to the block, the Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, commonly known as Judge Jeffreys. He did not live to meet the doom he had pronounced upon so many others, but died in the Bloody Tower, from the effects of a long-standing malady aggravated by excessive drinking.

The next important epoch in the history of the Tower was that of the Jacobite rebellion, upon the failure of which the leaders soon found their way here. The Earls of Derwentwater, Wintoun, Nithsdale and Carnwath, Viscount Kenmure, Lords Widdrington and Nairn, all entered the prison-palace. Carnwath, Widdrington, and Nairn were pardoned; Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded; Wintoun escaped, after a longer imprisonment than was accorded to the others, possibly with the connivance of the

authorities. Nithsdale also escaped the night before the day fixed for his execution. The romantic circumstances of his flight, contrived with extraordinary ingenuity, and carried out with as extraordinary intrepidity, by his wife, are well known.

Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, the Earl of Orrery, Lord North and Grey, and the Duke of Norfolk, shortly afterwards were all suspected of complicity in Jacobite plots, and all consigned to the Tower. They were closely followed by the Earl of Cromartie, the Earl of Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino, and by Charles Radcliffe, brother of the Earl of Derwentwater. Cromartie was pardoned, but the other three went to the block. Simon, Lord Lovat, with whose ungainly figure most people are familiar through Hogarth's print, was the next to be laid hands on. He had been a weather-cock, and in other respects a rather despicable person, but, when his time came to yield up his life, he died like a gentleman.

John Wilkes, John Horne Tooke, Lord George Gordon were all committed to the Tower for treason during George III.'s reign; and, in 1810, the popular member for Westminster, Sir Francis Burdett, in consequence of a letter to his constituents, which the House of Commons voted a libel, was, by order of the House, arrested in his own house in Piccadilly, and conveyed to the Tower, where he was detained ten weeks, being released on the prorogation of parliament, when the warrant against him lost its power. The leaders of the Spa Fields riots in 1816, and of the Cato Street conspiracy in 1820, were Burdett's only successors; and from the last date onward the fortress ceased to be used as a prison, as it had long previously ceased to be used as a palace. It might now be described as a barracks and arsenal.

The Regalia which is kept at the Tower, and which is the only remaining trace of personal occupation of the Tower by the sovereign, is shown to the public, and includes the following :—

The Crown made for Queen Victoria in 1838, which contains, amongst innumerable other magnificent jewels, the splendid ruby given to the Black Prince by the King of Castile in 1367, and afterwards worn in his helmet by Henry V., at the battle of Agincourt.

The Crown known as *St. Edward's*, which was made for Charles II., to replace the one traditionally belonging to the Confessor, which had been broken up during the rebellion.

The Prince of Wales's Crown, of plain gold, unadorned with jewels.

The Ancient Queen's Crown, formerly used at the coronation of a Queen Consort.

The Queen's Diadem, made for the Consort of James II., to wear on her way to her coronation.

The Orb, a ball of gold, six inches in diameter, set with precious stones, and surmounted by a cross.

St. Edward's Staff, a gold sceptre, which is carried before the sovereign at the coronation.

The King's Sceptre with the Cross, a jewelled gold bâton, which the sovereign holds in his hand at the coronation.

The King's Sceptre with the Dove, another jewelled gold staff.

The Queen's Sceptre with the Cross of jewelled gold, and,

The Queen's Ivory Rod, a sceptre made for the Consort of James II.

Another Sceptre with a Dove, supposed to have been made for Queen Mary when she was crowned with William III.

The Ampulla, or Golden Eagle, a vessel to contain the consecrated oil for the anointing at the coronation; and the Spoon belonging to the Ampulla.

The Curtana, or Sword of Mercy, which is borne naked at the coronation before the king between the two

Swords of Justice, spiritual and temporal. These three weapons are of steel, with handles covered with gold wire.

* The Armillæ, or Bracelets, worn on the king's wrist at the coronation, are of gold, edged with rows of pearls.

The Royal Spurs, also of wrought gold, are carried in the coronation procession by the hereditary holder of the right.

A Saltcellar of State, being a model in gold of the White Tower;

A Silver Font, double gilt, generally used at a royal baptism; and

A Silver Fountain, presented to Charles II. by the town of Plymouth, are also kept with the regalia.

To view these splendid symbols of sovereignty there is a continuous stream of visitors year in and out. But equal interest is shown in the armoury, with its magnificent collection of arms and armour of all ages, and in the chambers,

halls, and dungeons in which so much of English history was made, and in which it is not difficult to project one's-self, in imagination, into that remote past when not a single building which London now contains existed, save only this solemn White Tower.

No attempt has been made to enumerate the various buildings of the Tower, mention of which was irrelevant to the facts selected for narration. Such an attempt would result in a mere catalogue of names, "a mighty maze . . . without a plan."

CROSBY HALL

HAD Crosby Hall been a less admirable specimen of fifteenth-century domestic architecture its inclusion in this collection of views of royal palaces in London might have been open to question. For it was, after all, merely the typical town mansion of a wealthy merchant; and it was probably purely an accident that it blossomed forth, for a few brief years, into a royal residence. The Duke of Gloucester, who afterwards became King Richard III., has been so universally execrated, that a building associated closely with him might perhaps fail to arouse any great enthusiasm merely on his account. It is, however, because Shakespeare, in his tragedy of "King Richard III.," mentions Crosby Place, as it was then most frequently called, that the average man will call to mind the days when it sheltered a Court. Shakespeare was, in 1598, a resident in the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, as parish records go to prove, and it seems reasonable to suppose that he was familiar with the place, living so near it as he did, and dwelling at such length on the career of Richard as he must have done. So that if it is certain that the wily usurper once paced up and down the great hall maturing his schemes for sovereignty at the expense of inconvenient nephews and loyal nobles, it is at least more than probable that Shakespeare also passed in and out, ruminating over



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his subject, and, as the modern writer would put it, absorbing local colour.

The place is mentioned three times in "Richard III." In Act I. Scene II., the famous scene between the Lady Anne, widow of the Prince of Wales, and Richard :—

Gloucester. And if thy poor devoted servant may
But beg one favour at thy gracious hand,
Thou dost confirm his happiness for ever.

Anne. What is it?

Gloucester. That it may please you leave these sad designs
To him that hath most cause to be a mourner,
And presently repair to Crosby Place :
Where, after I have solemnly interr'd,
At Chertsey monastery, this noble king,
And wet his grave with my repentant tears,
I will with all expedient duty see you.

Again, in the next scene, when Richard is giving his instructions for the murder of the Duke of Clarence :—

Gloucester. Are you now going to despatch this thing?

1st Murderer. We are, my lord ; and come to have the warrant
That we may be admitted where he is.

Gloucester. Well thought upon, I have it here about me :
When you have done, repair to Crosby Place.

Again in Act III., Scene I., where Richard is instructing Catesby to sound Lord Hastings with the object of procuring his support.

Buckingham. Good Catesby, go, effect this business soundly.

Catesby. My good lords both, with all the heed I can.

Gloucester. Shall we hear from you, Catesby, ere we sleep?

Catesby. You shall, my lord.

Gloucester. At Crosby Place, there shall you find us both.

That the house should have retained the name of its builder and first occupant despite its adoption for royal purposes is paralleled in modern days by Buckingham Palace, originally Buckingham House, and, again, by Marlborough House. In some instances a mansion, passing

through several hands, received successively three or four names; in others, one finds the original title perpetuated although its connection with the bearer of the title has long ceased.

It is not, of course, intended, when Crosby Place is spoken of as a typical London house for a rich merchant, that London was full of such dwellings. Sir John Crosby, its builder, was a woolstapler and grocer; and, in 1466, he took a loan of the site, from Dame Alice Ashfield, Prioress of the Convent of St. Helens. There was a frontage to Bishopsgate Street, or the "Kinge's Strete" as it was then called, of 110 feet, and Crosby was to pay a ground rent of £11 6s. 8d. a year.

The chief parts of the mansion are said to have surrounded three sides of a small deep quadrangle, open on the west end to Bishopsgate Street, and having the whole east end occupied by the hall. But it is stated, on equally good authority, that there were two quadrangles, divided by the great hall. Stow states that the house was built of stone and timber, "very large and beautiful, and the highest at that time in London." The house was completed about 1470.

Sir John was a member of Parliament for London, alderman, and mayor of the Staple of Elans. He was knighted, together with several fellow-citizens, by Edward IV., for his part in the defence of the city when it was attacked by the Bastard Falconbridge.

Within about four years of the completion of his house Sir John Crosby died, and was buried in the church of St. Helen's hard by. His tomb is on the south side of the chancel, of the altar type, and bears the recumbent effigies of himself and his wife. Sir John's figure has armour worn over the alderman's mantle, and round the neck is suspended a collar of suns and roses, the badge of the House of York, to which he gave his allegiance.

His widow, probably considering the mansion too great

a burden for her, or being wishful to withdraw into some religious retreat, sold the place to Richard, Duke of Gloucester; and "there," says Sir Thomas More, "he lodged himself, and little by little all folks drew unto him, so that the Protector's Court was crowded, and King Henry's left desolate."

Here, in the council chamber, Sir Robert Billesden, the mayor, accompanied by a deputation of citizens, formally urged Richard to assume the Crown.

Richard left Crosby Place for his palace of Westminster on the 27th of June, 1483.

In 1501, Sir Bartholomew Rede spent the year of his mayoralty at Crosby Place, and gave a splendid entertainment there to the Princess Katharine of Arragon two days before the solemnization of her nuptials with Arthur, Prince of Wales. There, too, he shortly afterwards acted host to the ambassadors of the Emperor Maximilian deputed to condole with Henry VII. on the untimely death of Prince Arthur. Sir John Rest, mayor in 1516, was the next notable occupant of the house, and at his "show" it is stated that there were "four giants, *one unicorn*, one dromedary, one camel, one ass, *one dragon*, six hobby horses, and sixteen naked boys."

Crosby Place was destined immediately after this to hold as tenant one of the greatest of Englishmen. Between 1516 and 1523 Sir Thomas More, Lord High Chancellor of England, made it his home, and, in his time, to all the piety, learning, and wit of the nation his presence must have made Crosby Place a house which drew them like a magnet. Erasmus has left on record the impression made on him by the household, which he compares to the Academy of Plato.

In 1523, Sir Thomas More sold Crosby Place to his "dear friend" Antonio Bonvici, a merchant of Lucca, to whom, on the eve of his execution, he wrote an affecting letter from his chamber in the Tower. Bonvici, when the convent of St. Helen's came to be dissolved, paid to King

Henry VIII. £20 18s. 4*d.* for the conventual rights in the estate—what we should describe as the ground rent. But in 1549, having left the kingdom without leave, Henry, ignoring Bonvici's ownership—or, perhaps, acting upon a statute which made forfeiture of property a consequence of such an act—handed over Crosby Hall to Lord Darcy. However, on his return, Bonvici managed to adjust matters satisfactorily, for he recovered possession, and bequeathed it to one Germayne Cyoll. It was next purchased by Alderman Bond, who, on one occasion, entertained the Spanish ambassador there; and, after it had passed to his sons, they entertained there the Danish ambassador. The sons of Alderman Bond sold it to Sir John Spencer, who kept his year of mayoralty (1594) at Crosby Place, during which time the gentlemen students of Grays Inn and the Temple performed a masque in the hall, at which Queen Elizabeth was present. After this, the house was occupied for a time by the Countess of Pembroke, "the subject of all verse." Lord Compton, afterwards Earl of Northampton, succeeded his father-in-law, Sir John Spencer, with whose daughter he had eloped.

Little is heard of the place after this. The hall was used as a presbyterian chapel from 1672 to 1769, and, after passing through various casualties, it was offered for sale in 1831, and, mainly owing to the exertions of a public-spirited lady, a Miss Hackett, was preserved from demolition. For nearly twenty years it was used as a literary and scientific institute, and it is now occupied as a restaurant.

All that remains of the mansion is the great hall; two rooms, one over the other, forming part of the north side; and extensive cellarage beneath, mainly brick vaulting, except that on the south side, which has ribbed groining of stone.

The hall, though for some feet at each end of modern construction, retains its original proportions, viz., 54 feet long, 27 feet wide, and 40 feet high.

The windows are pointed, with a single mullion; and, as

is usual in structures of this character, their bases are a considerable height from the ground, leaving a spacious expanse of clear wall for the affixing of tapestry. The vaulted semi-octagonal oriel is of great beauty, and has the uncommon feature that the points of the arches nearest to the hall itself actually meet the wall, so that in those sections there is, as it were, only half a window. In the ceiling of the oriel is, in high relief, the crest of Sir John Crosby, a ram trippant argent, armed and hoofed or. The two north rooms had a bay window of similar structure and dimensions, but it was divided, at the level of the floor between the two rooms, by a straight band of stone wall. Both storeys of this oriel were vaulted. It was removed some years ago. These two rooms are about 42 feet by 22 feet. The upper room had, and the great hall has, an oaken roof. All the views of the hall the writer has consulted are of the exterior, so that Mr. Way's in this volume, depicting the interior, should be of special interest. About a year since, when some adjoining buildings in Bishopsgate Street were pulled down, a long-hidden aspect of the exterior was disclosed to passers-by.

THE SAVOY PALACE

THE only remnant of the Savoy Palace is its ancient chapel.

It lies north and south, with a small burying-ground adjoining it, between the Strand and the Victoria Embankment, immediately west of Waterloo Bridge, flanked on the east by Savoy Street, and on the west by Savoy Hill. The Strand was, of course, for a long period the site of numerous mansions of the English nobility, the last of which to disappear was Northumberland House, the town residence of the Dukes of Northumberland, which formerly stood where the present Northumberland Avenue leads from Trafalgar Square to the river. These houses had gardens bordering on the river and "water-gates," beneath which were the stairs from which the occupants entered their barges for river-journeys—the river, until even the eighteenth century, being the most important thoroughfare of London.

The principal authority upon the Savoy, the Reverend W. J. Loftie, suggests, in his "Memorials," that in Saxon times the site of the Savoy was river-bed, and that there was probably no dry land between the high ground on which Lincoln's Inn and Covent Garden now stand and the water's edge.

A former reader of the copy of Mr. Loftie's book which I have consulted has, rather pertinently, written in the

margin, "How about the Roman Bath in Strand Lane?" Mr. Loftie, perhaps, does not admit that the bath in question is of *Roman* origin.

The Savoy Palace dated from 1246. In February of that year, Henry III. made a grant of land lying between the Thames and the street called "la Straunde" to his "beloved uncle" Peter of Savoy. Peter, Count of Savoy, was the uncle of Henry's wife, Queen Eleanor of Provence. On his arrival in England he was invested by the King with the Honour of Richmond, but although Matthew Paris more than once speaks of him as Earl of Richmond, it is doubtful if he had any claim to that title, which was an appurtenance of the Dukedom of Brittany. On one occasion the Duke of Brittany interposed on behalf of his old Yorkshire tenants, and remonstrated with Peter of Savoy for his tyranny and oppression.

The boundaries of the estate granted to Peter were the Strand on the north, the river on the south, the present Strand Lane on the east, and, on the west, the house of the Bishop of Carlisle, afterwards the site of Beaufort Buildings.

No record exists of the building erected by Peter on the site, but that an important house was constructed is presumable from the fact that his title has remained associated with the spot to this day.

In 1263 Peter succeeded to his family estates in Savoy, and left England, appointing Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, custodian of his English possessions.

In 1268 he died, and bequeathed "The Savoy" to the friars of Mountjoy, who were confirmed in their possession of it by King Henry. They, however, in 1270 sold the property to Queen Eleanor for 300 marks—roughly £3000 of our present money. Before the death of Peter, the place had, in 1265, been used as a town residence by Eleanor of Castile, the wife of Prince Edward, and in 1279 it was assigned for the lodging of Alexander III., King of

Scotland, and brother-in-law of King Henry, who came to London to attend a parliament.

In 1284 the Savoy was in the possession of Edmund *Crouchback*, Earl of Lancaster, and titular King of Sicily, and his wife Blanche, widow of the King of Navarre. The grant to Edmund from his mother, Queen Eleanor, is dated February 24, 1284, and enumerates the "*Domus, gardinum, placeas et redditus cum pertinentis suis.*" The connection thus established between the Honour of Lancaster and the Savoy has continued unbroken to the present day. Edmund in 1293 obtained the King's license to crenellate his house, and built around the precinct a wall (*de petra et calce*); and in 1296 he died.

He is said to have introduced into England from Provence, on his return from the Crusade, the red roses which afterwards became the cognizance of his descendants, and it seems probable that in the gardens of the Savoy they were first grown in this country. Earl Edmund was succeeded by his son Thomas of Lancaster, one of the picturesque figures in the history of the time; but concerning his residence at the Savoy no record exists.

By him Gaveston, the favourite of King Edward II., was captured and beheaded, and he endeavoured to break down the influence of Gaveston's successors, the Despensers, but in 1322, after having been some time in arms against the King, he surrendered at Pontefract, and was there beheaded. Regarded by the populace as a champion of their rights, a cult of "St. Thomas of Lancaster" speedily arose, and, before long, miracles were wrought at his tomb and pilgrimages organized. In the British museum is a manuscript "Office of St. Thomas of Lancaster."

But the Church did not authorize his veneration, and when, some years later, a petition for the canonization of the Earl was made to the Pope, he refused to grant the request.

In the meanwhile the Savoy had been granted to Edward, Earl of Chester, as the King's eldest son was



called. Earl Thomas dying a rebel, his estates would be forfeited to the Crown.

Earl Henry, the son of Thomas, however, was, in 1326, admitted to be the heir, and had possession of the Savoy thenceforward till his death, in 1345. He was succeeded by his son Henry, who extended his Savoy boundaries both north and east, by purchases, of which records remain.

In 1351 this Earl Henry was created Duke of Lancaster, and from this date onward the Savoy has been the headquarters of the Duchy of Lancaster. In the precinct of the Savoy the offices of the chancery of the duchy are still situated, and it is owing to the tenure of the Duchy of Lancaster by the English sovereign that the little chapel of the Savoy is a "Chapel Royal."

In 1357, the King and his son, the Black Prince, returned from a victorious campaign in France, bringing with them a royal prisoner, King John of France, who was assigned lodgings in the Savoy. The captive king was subsequently removed to Windsor. After an abortive attempt to procure his ransom, for which purpose he had been permitted to visit France on parole, he returned to London, and a second time took up his quarters in the Savoy, where he died in 1364.

Three years previously the Duke of Lancaster had died of the plague at Leicester, and his property descended to his two daughters, through one of whom, Blanche, the Savoy passed to her husband, John of Gaunt, on whom the Dukedom of Lancaster was conferred in 1362.

John of Gaunt made the Savoy his London residence. Documents showing his liberal housekeeping and his care of his gardens are in existence.

His warrener at Aldbourne is commanded one Christmas to provide five dozen of *les plus bones et grosses coniz*; and Nichol Gardiner is to have twopence a day and the right to sell the fruit and vegetables not required for the household. It was at this date that Chaucer's connection with the Savoy

commenced. A pension of £10 yearly was granted to him by the Duke out of the revenues of the Savoy.

As King of Castile and Leon, John of Gaunt kept regal state, and no doubt the Savoy held at this time a very large retinue of officials and courtiers.

John appointed the first Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Mr. Loftie quotes a warrant addressed to the Dean of the Chapel by John, requiring certain ecclesiastical vestments and utensils to be sent for his use while away from home; and numerous entries from warrants to the treasurer, for the payment of sums to clerics, musicians, archers, etc.

John's influence in the government of the kingdom was as great as, or greater than, that of a prime minister of the present day, and he gradually became very unpopular. His championship of John Wycliffe did not tend to improve matters, and, after a dispute between the Duke and the Bishop of London, a riot ensued, and an attack on the Savoy was only just averted by the Bishop's intervention.

But in 1381, during the great insurrection of the peasants, the palace was actually besieged, and, it being unable to offer much resistance, entered and looted. The house was so damaged that it was, shortly afterwards, dismantled and left a ruin. The lead from the roof was removed, to be employed in the roofing of Hertford Castle, and for several years the spoliation was carried on.

John of Gaunt died in 1399, and, a few months afterwards, King Henry IV. annexed the manor of the Savoy and all the Lancaster estates to the Crown, but the palace appears to have remained a ruin until the reign of Henry VII., with the exception of a part which had been rebuilt and used as a prison.

By the will of Henry VII. the Savoy was constituted a hospital for "oon hundreth pouer folks, as also a certain number of preists and other ministers and servitours, men and women, as such a matier shall require."

Very minute instructions are given in the will, as to the employment of the ten thousand marks which were assigned for the construction and maintenance of the hospital.

The buildings must have been well advanced by 1514, in which year Wolsey held two councils in the Savoy.

The hospital was, of course, not a place for the reception of the sick, but what in later years was more frequently termed an "alms-house." The inmates were to pray for the souls of the founder and his kin.

The general appearance of the buildings is pretty clearly shown in the view of 1650, where, behind the block of buildings abutting immediately on the river, three quadrangles are to be seen.

John Chessell Buckler, writing in 1828, says—

"The hall of the hospital for pilgrims founded by Henry VII., on the site of the Savoy Palace, was cruciform. Its north member remained nearly perfect till 1816, when the whole was demolished. The internal length each way was 226 feet and the width 30 feet. The walls were 3 feet 10 inches thick, and the buttresses projected 4 feet 9 inches at the base. The side windows throughout consisted of double compartments with a transom, and the parapet was originally ornamented with battlements and with pinnacles springing from the buttresses. The north window was fifteen feet wide and very handsome, having on each side within the room niches whose recesses were formed to receive statues the size of life, beneath canopies which rose nearly to the roof. The roof was of timber, supported on stone corbels; and in a print published by the Society of Antiquaries the loover is placed over the point of intersection. Below the windows were numerous recessed arches, probably for seats. Previously to the demolition of this hall, the modern buildings by which it had been encumbered were removed, and its venerable walls appeared nearly in the condition to which they were reduced by the fire in 1776."

The hospital was surrendered to King Henry VIII., in 1553, by the master, Ralph Jackson, and the whole estate made over to the new hospital of Bridewell. It was reconstituted by Queen Mary in 1556, and various masters appointed from time to time. But the objects for which it was founded must have been to a great extent ignored,

for, in the early part of the reign of James I., it appears, by the master's accounts, that the buildings were let out as "lodgings" to noblemen and people about the court—a practice which continued through the reign of Charles I.

One of the most notable of the masters of the Savoy in Stuart times was Mark Anthony de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, who came to England in 1616, and conformed to the Established Church. He was afterwards promoted to the Deanery of Windsor. Returning to Italy later on, he was seized, and imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he died in 1624.

During the Commonwealth a conference of Independents was held at the Savoy to draw up a confession of faith.

But a more celebrated meeting of divines, historically known as the Savoy Conference, was held here in 1661. It was composed of Churchmen and Presbyterians. A list of changes in the forms of service, more verbal than doctrinal, to which, for the conciliation of the Presbyterian party, the Churchmen were willing to submit, was drawn up, and the majority of them afterwards adopted by convocation.

The same year saw the establishment of the congregation of French protestants in the Savoy, which has subsisted ever since, with the name Savoy attached, although removed to a new building in Bloomsbury. It is conjectured that to this congregation is due the appellation of "Savoy," by which the popular tune to the hundredth psalm is known.

In the same year a great fire occurred, by which the houses of the chaplains were destroyed. And in 1663 there was appointed as master Henry Killigrew, whose bad qualities brought about the final ruin of the hospital.

During his incumbency James II., in 1686, built a Jesuit school in the precinct, in which the system was so admirable that it threatened to prove a formidable rival to the old foundations of Eton, Westminster, and Winchester. Soon after it was opened there were about four hundred boys in the classes. The school was, however, dissolved upon the

abdication of James II. In 1669, or thereabouts, the king's printers set up their presses in the precinct, and a large number of Bibles printed there have the colophon "In the Savoy."

On the accession of William and Mary, the condition of the Savoy, which, under Dr. Killigrew, had developed into a sort of Alsatia, became the subject of inquiry, and, in 1697, a bill was passed abolishing its privileges of sanctuary.

Macaulay relates how a tailor who ventured into the precinct to collect a debt was stripped, tarred, and feathered.

Finally, on July 31, 1702, the final sentence of dissolution of the hospital was pronounced by Lord Keeper Wright.

There were in the precinct, in the middle of the eighteenth century, besides the French Protestant church, a German Lutheran chapel, and a mosque belonging to the Persian ambassador.

The large cruciform building in the centre of the hospital was for years occupied as barracks.

In 1817 Waterloo Bridge was built, and, in consequence, the larger part of the buildings was demolished, and, though some fragments remained later, the last of them disappeared in 1876, leaving nothing to proclaim the former glories of the ancient palace but the little chapel of St. John Baptist.

After the destruction of the Church of St. Mary in the Strand, this chapel served the parishioners for their parish church until the erection of the new church in the Strand, in 1717.

It is probably owing to this circumstance that the chapel escaped destruction. Owing to this assignment of it to the parish of St. Mary, it was for long time known as the church of St. Mary le Savoy; and during this period Thomas Fuller, one of the greatest divines connected with the place, occupied the pulpit.

The greater part of his "Church History" and his "Worthies" was, however, composed, not in the Savoy, but at the period of his service with the royal army as chaplain,

during the great rebellion. He was taken ill on the conclusion of his last sermon in the Savoy, on August 12, 1661, died on the 18th, and was buried at Cranford.

Another famous divine associated with the place, a few years later, was Anthony Horneck, whose preaching is described by Evelyn in his diary.

When the parishioners of St. Mary's had erected their new church, the chapel became for some years as notorious as the Fleet as a place for the celebration of clandestine marriages. An advertisement appeared in the papers, setting out the advantages of the Savoy for this purpose, as having "five private ways by land and two by water," the expense to be not more than one guinea, the five-shilling stamp included.

After this period the chapel became of little account, until, soon after the accession of Queen Victoria, restorations were undertaken at her own cost. A tablet, with the date 1843, by the roof of the new vestry, records this work. But, in 1864, a fire broke out which destroyed all the fittings, the roof, and the ancient monuments.

The Queen immediately gave orders for her second restoration of the chapel, and, after works entailing an outlay of £7000, which Her Majesty provided herself, the chapel was reopened on Advent Sunday, 1865.

The chapel is a rectangular chamber about eighty-nine feet by twenty-three, and the altar is raised above the nave level by a gradual ascent of five steps. The two windows on either side at the chancel end are slightly smaller than the six which light the nave. The roof is magnificently coloured and contains shields of the royal persons who have been connected with the manor.

The window above the altar is filled with stained glass by Willement, a memorial of the Prince Consort. There is a window to the memory of Richard Lander of Truro, the discoverer of the source of the Niger; and another, to the memory of Archibald Cameron of Lochiel, the last to suffer

death for the cause of the exiled Stuarts. This was inserted after the fire, in the place of a monument then destroyed, and is from the designs of William Morris. It has the unique distinction of including work by four of the most famous painters of the 19th century. The six figures filling the six lights were painted, two by Rossetti, two by Burne Jones, one by Maddox Brown, and one by Morris himself.

The most notable persons buried in the chapel and the ground adjoining were Mrs. Anne Killigrew, the subject of a magnificent elegy by Dryden; Thomas Halsey, Bishop of Leighlin in Ireland, and Gavan Douglas, the Scottish poet,—these two being commemorated by a brass, dated 1522, which escaped destruction in the fire; Humphrey Cook, the builder of the hospital.

Of two other monuments existing before the fire fragments remain. One the little figure of Alicia Steward, daughter of Simon Steward of Kingeth in Suffolk, who died in 1573; the other, in a mutilated condition, that of Nichola Moray, wife of Sir Robert Douglas, who died in 1612. A small picture, a Holy Family of the Siennese school, painted on a gold ground, formerly in the lodgings of the Master of the Savoy, was discovered by the late Rev. Henry White, chaplain, at Hereford, in 1875. He purchased it, and restored it to the Savoy. It is on the wall of the chapel, near the font.

The view of the hospital, dated 1650, before referred to, is the most noticeable record of the appearance of the old buildings. A chart, dated 1736, shows the three quadrangles behind the river front, labelled respectively from west to east, "Gardens, now Lutheran Church," "Friery," and "Green Tree Court." Mr. Loftie's "Memorials" contains a view of the chapel tower, 1787, and an interesting representation of the portion of the buildings adjoining the chapel on the south-west and facing up Savoy Hill. There is a fine oriel of two storeys projecting above the perpendicular doorway.

WHITEHALL

THE Palace of Whitehall, now represented only by the magnificent banquetting-hall erected by Inigo Jones, lay in the city of Westminster, between what is now St. James's Park and the river Thames, a little south of Charing Cross.

The first person of any note in whom the land upon which the palace stood was invested was Hubert de Burgh. Documents recording his purchase of two plots of land there—the one from Roger de Ware and Maud, his mother; the other from Odo, the king's goldsmith—were adduced as evidence in a trial some seventy years since, when the inhabitants of Richmond Terrace sought to be declared extra-parochial, as dwelling on part of the site of the palace, but were adjudged parishioners of Saint Margaret's, Westminster.

After the attainder of Hubert de Burgh—a man five times married, who counted among his wives the widow of one king and the sister of another—he, having been unable to fulfil a vow to go to the Holy Land as a crusader, gave this land into the hands of trustees, to be sold in aid of others bound on the same expedition. By these trustees it was disposed of to Walter Grey, Archbishop of York, who annexed it to his see. Thirty archbishops in succession held this house, beginning with Walter Grey and ending

with Thomas Wolsey; and, wherever mentioned in document or chronicle, it is styled York House.

Wolsey, with his passion for building, undoubtedly increased the extent and magnificence of York House, and his additions would, of course, be in the style of Hampton Court and Christ Church, Oxford, Gothic, with the early evidences of the influence of the Italian renaissance.

Some of the old engravings show, just west of the "Holbein" gateway, which extended across a part of the present roadway, and south of the banqueting-house, a large hall with massive buttresses. This, which for generations has formed part of the Treasury buildings, was in the last century refronted with stone, and the buttresses converted into pilasters. Since then it has been twice refronted, in 1824 by Soane, and in 1846 by Barry, who greatly increased its length. It is probable that within the walls of the present building are concealed remains of the old Tudor masonry.

Wolsey was still in possession of the place at the beginning of 1530, but Henry VIII. was without any London palace except the Tower and Bridewell, his apartments at Westminster having been destroyed by fire in 1512. He did not buy the hospital of St. James's-in-the-Fields till 1532.

Upon the fall of Wolsey, therefore, he seized York House from the see of York, and about the same time despoiled the Abbot of Westminster of all the land—including what is now St. James's Park—between Charing Cross and an outlying suburb of Westminster, known as Little Calais. He further annexed to the domain the land forming the present Hyde Park.

He then erected the whole into an "honour" by special Act of Parliament. The Act declares his Majesty's desire to preserve for his own disposal, pleasure, and recreation, the games of hare, partridge, pheasant, and heron, "in and about his honour at his palace of Westminster, to

St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, to our Lady of the Oak, to Highgate, to Hornsey Park, to Hampstead Heath, and from thence to his said palace of Westminster."

By the palace of Westminster is to be understood York House, which had not yet acquired the name of Whitehall, although Shakespeare, in "Henry VIII.," when one of the minor characters is describing to another the coronation of Anne Boleyn, makes the former say—

"And with the same full state pac'd back again
To York Place, where the feast is held."

To which the reply is—

"Sir,
You must no more call it York Place, that is past :
For, since the cardinal fell, that title's lost ;
'Tis now the king's, and call'd Whitehall."

Henry's recorded additions to York House were a tennis court, a cockpit, and a series of bowling greens. He also spent a good deal of money in making an orchard, probably on the site of the present Whitehall Gardens. For this work, and in the making of St. James's Park, two thousand five hundred loads of stone were used.

Henry is also said to have erected a large gallery, which ran northward towards Charing Cross.

The most noticeable feature of the palace at this time was the Holbein gateway, already mentioned. It figures in many old views—Hollar's, Silvestre's, Vertue's, Sandby's. Very similar in general outline to the great gateway at Hampton Court, it was built of bricks arranged chess-board fashion, with stone windows and doorways, and was decorated with terra-cotta medallions in high relief. A passage from the park led through the first floor of the gateway to the palace, and it was by this route that Charles I. passed to the place of his martyrdom.

Close to where Downing Street now stands was the tilt-yard. Behind the spot on which James I. built the

banqueting-house was the court, divided by a passage which passed over an archway, and led to the great hall and the chapel, the latter close to the river bank. The King's lodgings also looked over the river, and between them and the chapel was a cluster of small buildings, parts of which were appropriated to the Queen and her maids of honour. Westward of these was the great Stone Gallery overlooking the garden and bowling-green. There was a library, the site of which has not been identified, but Paul Hentzner, who travelled in England in Queen Elizabeth's time, speaks of it eulogistically, and describes a volume written in French by the Princess Elizabeth, and inscribed to her father: "Elizabeth sa très humble fille rend salut et obédience."

"All these books," Hentzner says, "are bound in velvet of different colours, though chiefly red, with clasps of gold and silver; some have pearls and precious stones set in their bindings."

Hentzner goes on to describe the furniture of inlaid woods, some stained glass representing the Passion, and a gallery of portraits and other pictures. He mentions the Queen's bed "ingeniously composed of woods of different colours with quilts of silk, velvet, gold, silver, and embroidery." Among the portraits he describes one thus: "A picture of King Edward VI., representing, at first sight, something quite deformed, till, by looking through a small hole in the cover, which is put over it, you see it in its true proportions."

On January 28th, Henry died at Whitehall. The body lay at first in the King's private chamber, and was there embalmed and wrapped in lead. The chapel, the cloister, the hall, and the King's chamber were all hung with black. On February 2nd the coffin was removed to the chapel, and covered with a pall of cloth of gold and tissue. The altar was hung with velvet, bearing the royal arms. Twelve lords sat or knelt within the altar rail as mourners, and watchers guarded the remains. As the people passed, a

herald cried, "You shall of your charity pray for the soul of the most famous prince King Henry VIII., our late most gracious King and master." On the 14th February a waxen effigy was ready, and the procession, stated by Sandford to have been four miles long, started for Windsor, where, by the King's own desire, his body was to lie by the side of Jane Seymour. The procession reached Syon, at Isleworth, the first night, and at one o'clock the following day reached Windsor.

Of Edward VI. and Mary little is recorded in connection with this palace, but at the end of the reign of Elizabeth the name of Whitehall appears once or twice instead of the "palace of Westminster," and from that date onward remains its official designation. After her death at Richmond, the body of Elizabeth lay in state at Whitehall, previous to the interment in Henry VII.'s Chapel.

With the accession of the Stuarts begins a new era in the history of Whitehall. Almost immediately, James I. built new stabling and a barn in the mews, on the site of the present Trafalgar Square. To the north-east of Whitehall the Strand had already become a continuous street, the last house westward being the one first called Northampton House, then Suffolk House, and finally Northumberland House. King Street, to the south of the palace, had been built, and in a house there, according to Ben Jonson's account, Edmund Spenser, the poet, died "for lake of bread." He "refused twenty pieces sent to him by my lord of Essex, and said he was sorrie he had no time to spend them." To the east of King Street, on the site of the present Richmond Terrace and New Scotland Yard, there were green fields and gardens to the water's edge. A gateway, half classical, half Gothic, ornamented with busts, of which an engraving by G. Vertue exists, formed the entrance to King Street, just at right angles to the chief entrance of the present Foreign and Indian Offices. The garden of the palace, with its lawn and sundial, was separated from the King Street slopes by the



bowling-green, on the site of Montagu House, the present residence of the Duke of Buccleuch. On the other side of the road, northward of the tilt-yard and the Horse Guards, Sir William Knollys, treasurer of the household to Queen Elizabeth, built himself a house, long known as Wallingford House. He was created Lord Knollys by James I., in 1603, and, in 1616, Viscount Wallingford. In 1626 he became Earl of Banbury, and he died in 1632.

Anne of Denmark, James's Queen, had Somerset House for a separate residence, and the Prince of Wales had St. James's, though he did not take up his residence there for six years after it was granted to him, and two years later he died. Amongst the four hundred persons who composed the retinue of the Prince was Inigo Jones, who had a salary of three shillings a day. The Prince on one occasion gave him thirty pounds, and on another sixteen, equal in the money of our day to four times the amount. On the Prince's death Jones went to Italy to study architecture. He was the organizer of the numerous masques that were performed before the King at Whitehall. Jones gives an account of one of these plays, written by George Chapman, and performed by the gentlemen of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn on the occasion of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Palsgrave, afterwards King of Bohemia.

A procession started from the Rolls House in Chancery Lane, and rode on horseback along the Strand to the tilt-yard at Whitehall. The performance took place in the hall of the palace. It had for scenery an artificial rock nearly as high as the roof. The rock was honeycombed with caves, and there were two winding stairs. The rock turned a golden colour, and "was run quite through with veins of gold." On one side was an iron edifice labelled "Honoris Fanum." There were various allusive devices; and after Plutus, the god of riches, had made a speech, the rock split in pieces with a great crack, and Capriccio stepped out to

make his speech, while the broken rock vanished. Next appeared a cloud. Then a gold mine, in which the twelve masques were triumphantly seated. Over the gold mine was an evening sky, and the red sun was seen to set. There were white cliffs in the background, and from them rose a bank of clouds which hid everything. The masque cost Lincoln's Inn alone more than a thousand pounds.

It is probable that from his experience in the production of these masques, Inigo Jones learned the secret of extracting the greatest possible effect from the smallest amount of material. He acquired the knowledge of the influence of proportion upon architecture, and the great results that are attainable by the employment of it alone, without ornamental accessories.

During his sojourn in Italy he made numerous careful measurements of ancient buildings, and compared the results with the conclusions he had already arrived at from his own experience.

In October, 1615, Jones was appointed surveyor to the King, and probably commenced at once his designs for the rebuilding of Whitehall Palace. For when, in 1619, the old hall was destroyed by fire, he was ready within six months to begin building the banqueting-house.

The plans which Jones laid before the King after the fire were on a very extensive scale, and the proposed buildings would have covered an area of 1152 feet by 874 feet, involved the removal of all the remaining Tudor work. The banqueting-house was only a fragment of the whole design. It was finished in March, 1622, and cost about £14,940. The whole palace, had it been erected, would have eclipsed the Vatican, the Lateran, and the Escorial. The banqueting-house is thus described by Jones:—

"It is 110 feet long and 55 feet wide. The wall of the foundation is 14 feet thick. The first storey to the height of 16 feet is of Oxfordshire stone, rusticated on the outside and bricked on the inside. The height of the roof is 55 feet, the walls being 5 feet thick, made of Northamptonshire

stone, with two orders of columns and pilasters, the lower Ionic, and the higher Composite, with their architrave, frieze, cornice, and other ornaments of the kind ; also rails and 'balustres' round about the top of the building, all of Portland stone, with fourteen windows on each side, one great window at the upper end, and five doors of stone with frontispieces and cartouches ; the inside brought up with brick, finished over with two orders of columns and pilasters, part of stone and part of brick, with their architectural frieze and cornice, with a gallery upon the two sides and the lower end borne upon great cartouches of timber carved, with rails and balustres of timber, and the floor laid with spruce deals ; a strong timber roof covered with lead, and under it a ceiling divided into a fret made of great cornices enriched with carving ; with painting, glazing, etc."

The master mason was the famous Nicholas Stone, whose beautiful water-gate at the foot of Buckingham Street still survives. Stone appears to have held the same relation to Inigo Jones that Grinling Gibbons afterwards did to Christopher Wren.

The ceiling was painted by Rubens, and in the central compartment, an oval, the subject depicted is the "Apotheosis of James I." Rubens received three thousand pounds for his work, in which it is said he was assisted by Jordaens. The figures are colossal, the children being more than nine feet high.

In 1724 the banqueting-hall, though unconsecrated, was converted into a chapel, and continued to be used for Divine service until, in 1873, it was transferred to the United Service Institution for the purposes of a museum.

The banqueting-hall, in the original design, was to be one of four similar buildings in the great court of the palace, one on either side at the north, and one on either side at the southern end. Connecting these were to be two buildings of still greater beauty and dimensions, the whole court being 728 feet long by 378 wide.

The designs for the whole of the buildings exist, and it was hoped, some little time since, that the new Government Office to the north of the banqueting-house could have been erected in accordance with them, but the scheme proved

impracticable. One of the chief features of the palace was to have been a circular court, always spoken of as the Persian Court. Instead of pillars or pilasters in this court, there were to be Caryatides in the upper storey, and Persians, that is male figures similar to the Caryatides, in the lower. Those in the lower range were to have Tuscan capitals upon their heads; those in the upper, Corinthian.

The chapel in the north-western corner of the great court was to have corresponded with the banqueting-house. The design shows a wood ceiling.

Of course the plans of Jones were on so vast a scale as to entail the outlay of immense sums of money—a commodity with which James I. was but ill provided. The result was that the banqueting-house was the only portion of the projected palace that ever got beyond the design. Fergusson, speaking of Jones's "palace of dreams," says it would have surpassed the Louvre, Versailles, or any other building of the kind, "by the happy manner in which the angles are accentuated, by the boldness of the centre masses in each façade, and by the play of light and shade, and the variety of skyline, which is obtained without ever interfering with the simplicity of the design or the harmony of the whole."

Sir William Chambers, referring to the Persian Court, says "there are few nobler thoughts in the remains of antiquity."

In 1625, James I., who had shortly before left Whitehall, died at Theobalds. When the news came to Whitehall, Bishop Laud was in the middle of a sermon, which he abruptly terminated to allow of the proclamation of Charles I. The service was not concluded, so that the congregation and the new King went away without a blessing—one of the many evil omens that attended the accession of Charles I.

Whitehall during the first year of his reign was crowded with French ecclesiastics and attendants, who had come over in the train of Henrietta Maria. Charles, after one or two futile attempts to get rid of them peaceably, ordered Lord

Conway to remove them by force. Under Conway's directions they were taken to Somerset House, where they remained for over a month. Finally, they were taken to Dover to embark, and it is said that it required four days and forty carriages to transport them there.

The reign of Charles was so troubled, that he was not long resident at one time at Whitehall or any of his palaces. But his taste for pictures and objects of art was displayed there, as elsewhere. Inigo Jones built for him a room expressly to contain his cabinet pictures; and entries in the expense-books convey the impression that Jones had a general commission to acquire for the King anything that seemed a desirable addition to his collection.

Charles's greatest purchase was the entire collection of the Duke of Mantua, which he hung on the walls of the banqueting-house, where he had intended to place paintings by Van Dyck representing ceremonials of the Order of the Garter. The Mantuan collection included the magnificent series of cartoons by Mantegna, depicting the triumphs of Cæsar, now at Hampton Court. After the death of the King, his collection was offered for sale, and the Mantegna cartoons were purchased for £1000 by Oliver Cromwell, who at the same time bought for £300 the cartoons of Raphael, which had been procured for the tapestry workers at Mortlake.

Perhaps the most interesting picture in Charles's collection was the one by Van Bassen, now at Hampton Court, representing the King and Queen dining in public. Mr. Law describes it thus : the king and queen are being—

“served by gentlemen-in-waiting with dishes, more of which are being brought in from the door opposite them by attendants. In the right corner is a sideboard, and wine cooling in brass boats on the floor. Several dogs are running about. At the end of the hall is a raised and recessed dais, where spectators are looking on through some curtains. The decoration of the hall is in the classic taste, and is very fine and elaborate. On the walls hang several pictures.”

This picture does not appear in the catalogue of Charles

I.'s collection, but it is No. 937 in that of James II. The scene is possibly a chamber in the palace of Theobalds. It is valuable, as exhibiting the manners of the time and the prevailing habit of royalty dining in public. An anecdote in Jesse's "Court of England under the Stuarts" refers to the same custom:—

"The Queen, howsoever very little of stature, is yet of a pleasing countenance, if she be pleased, but full of spirit and vigour, and seems of a more than ordinary resolution. With one frown, diverse of us being at Whitehall to see her, being at dinner, and the room somewhat overheated with the fire and company, she drove us all out of the chamber. I suppose none but a queen could have cast such a scowl."

From "The Present State of London," 1681, Mr. Loftie gives the following extract:—

"There were daily at Charles I.'s court 86 tables well furnished each meal; whereof the King's table had 28 dishes; the Queen's, 24; 4 other tables 16 dishes each, and so on. In all about 500 dishes each meal, with bread, beer, wine, and all things necessary. There was spent yearly in the King's house, of gross meat 1500 oxen; 7000 sheep; 1200 calves; 300 porkers; 400 young beefs; 6800 lambs, 300 flitches of bacon; and 26 boars. Also 140 dozen geese, 250 dozen of capons, 470 dozen of hens, 750 dozen of pullets, 1470 dozen of chickens; for bread, 364,000 bushels of wheat; and, for drink, 600 tuns of wine and 1700 tuns of beer; together with fish and fowl, fruit and spice, proportionately."

Charles, however, had but short time for the indulgence of his artistic tastes and hospitality. In January, 1649, the end came to the long struggle with the parliamentary leaders, and he was brought a prisoner from Windsor Castle, and lodged at St. James's. On Saturday, the 20th, he passed through Whitehall on his way to the travesty of a trial in Westminster Hall. Marvellously as he had succeeded in retaining the sympathy of his loyal followers, it was in this last week of his life that he atoned for all the errors of his administration by a dignity of demeanour that impressed friend and foe alike. Marvel's undying words—

"He nothing common did, or mean,
Upon that memorable scene,"

apply as fitly to the tragic scene in Westminster Hall as to the final act on the scaffold at Whitehall.

The utmost care was exercised in choosing the place of execution, no doubt because of the great probability that an attempt at rescue might be made. It was spoken of as "the open street of Whitehall," but was really surrounded by buildings. On the south, the only means of access was Holbein's Gateway, with its narrow arch; on the west, the walled tilt-yard, barracks, and other buildings, ending with Wallingford House; on the north, the roadway, to Charing Cross; and on the east, the façade of the palace itself. Entering the enclosure from Charing Cross, the onlooker was immediately confronted with the black scaffold in front of the banqueting-house, elevated to the height of the first floor.

Pepys, who could have given us perhaps a more graphic account of the proceedings than any other man of his age, disappointingly says nothing more than, "It was my chance to see the King beheaded at White Hall."

The scaffold was before the two windows nearest to Charing Cross, and a hole was broken through the wall to give access to it, the windows at that time being all filled up with masonry.

The King was brought to Whitehall at ten, and at noon was offered food; but he had received the sacrament in the morning, and said he would eat no more in this world. Later in the afternoon, however, Bishop Juxon persuaded him to eat a piece of bread and drink a glass of wine. Then he made ready for his death, and, in reply to Juxon's consolations, possibly mindful of the text of his coronation sermon, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," he said—"I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown." With the word "Remember," the significance of which has never been satisfactorily explained,—

"He laid his comely head
Down as upon a bed."

The body was removed to the King's private apartments, and thence to St. James's Palace, where it remained more than a week—doubtless, that all might be assured that no substitution had been effected. On the 7th of February the remains were conveyed to Windsor, where they were interred in St. George's Chapel.

At the time of the execution of the King, or perhaps before, Oliver Cromwell had apartments within the precincts of Whitehall; but it was not till five years after he was installed Protector that he took up his residence in the State apartments. Besides Windsor and Hampton Court, the whole palace of Whitehall was granted to him, and he received foreign ambassadors in the banqueting-house.

Jesse quotes from a contemporary record :—

"April 13, 1654.—This day the bedchamber and the rest of the lodgings and rooms appointed for the Lord Protector in Whitehall were prepared for his Highness to remove from the Cockpit on the morrow.

"April 15.—His Highness the Lord Protector, with his lady and family, this day dined at Whitehall, whither his Highness and family are removed, and did this night lie there, and do there continue."

A contemporary notice from the *Weekly Intelligencer* runs as follows :—

"The Privy Lodgings for his Highness the Lord Protector in Whitehall are now in readiness, as also the lodgings for his Lady Protectress; and likewise the privy kitchen, and other kitchens, butteries, and offices; and it is conceived the whole family will be settled there before Easter. 'The tables for diet prepared are these :—

"A table for his Highness.

"A table for the Protectress.

"A table for Chaplains and Strangers.

"A table for the Steward and Gentlemen.

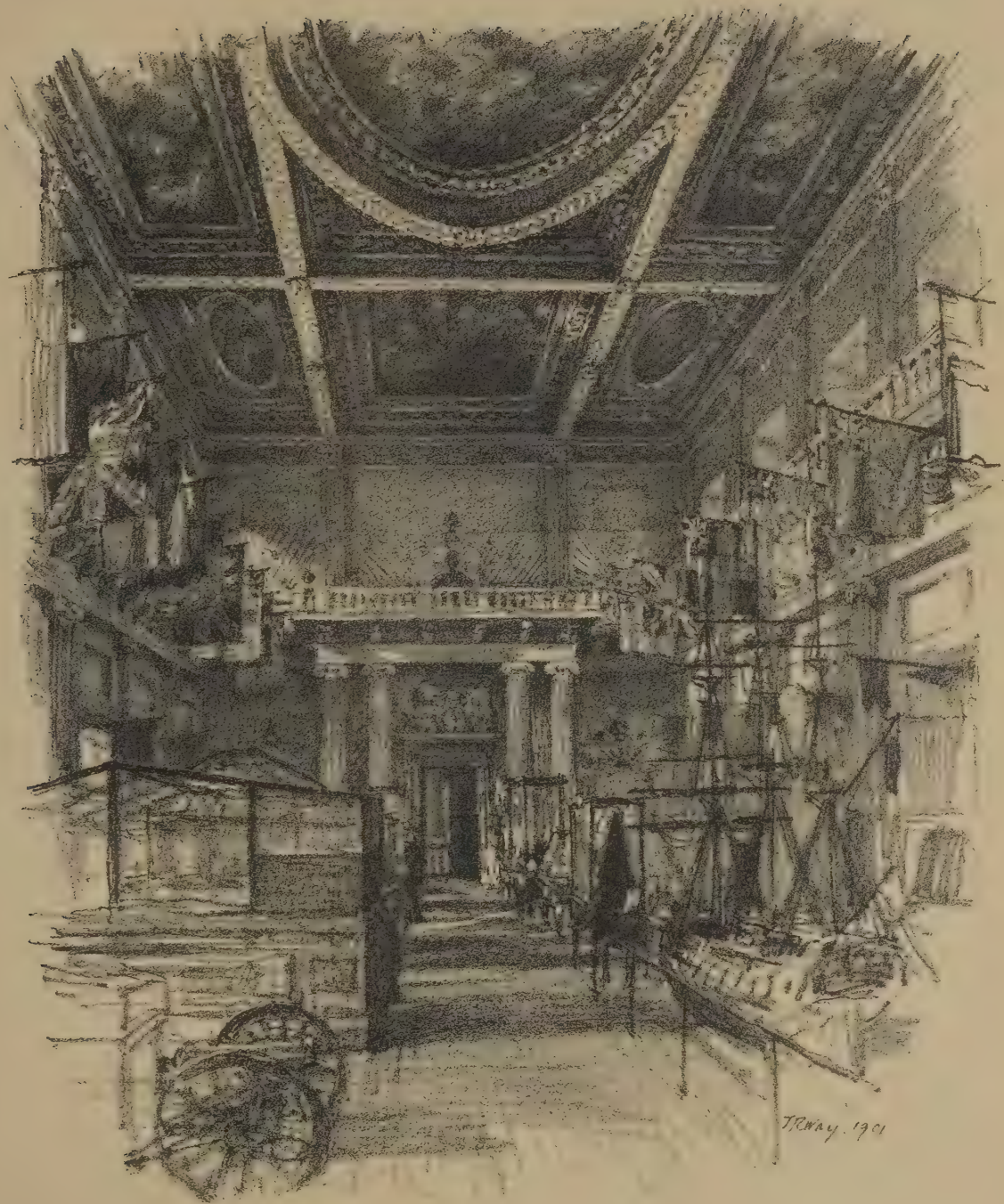
"A table for the Gentleman.

"A table for coachmen, grooms, and other domestic servants.

"A table for inferiors, or sub-servants."

Cromwell kept open house at Whitehall on Mondays. He entertained the whole House of Commons to dinner in the banqueting-house in 1656, and again in 1657.

INTERIOR OF THE BANQUETING HALL
WHITEHALL PALACE



T. R. May. 1901

His last illness came upon him at Hampton Court, whence he was removed to Whitehall, where he died, September 3, 1658.

Charles II. inhabited Whitehall continuously, and the pages of Pepys and Evelyn are full of references to the palace.

Mr. Wheatley, in his "London, Past and Present," says that the principal chambers alluded to by Pepys are the Matted Gallery; the Gallery of Henry VIII., which probably led over Holbein's Gate to the Park; the Boarded Gallery; the Shield Gallery, which would be the one spoken of by Manningham towards the end of Elizabeth's reign as being decorated with escutcheons; the Stone Gallery, which overlooked the Sundial Lawn in the Privy Garden; the Vane Room; the Banqueting House—a ceremony of creation of peers in which he describes; and the Council Chamber, which looked on to the great Court. The Chapel, also, is mentioned frequently. It was near the river, to the east of the palace. Inigo Jones designed a reredos of coloured marble for it, which, after the palace was burnt, was given by Queen Anne to Westminster Abbey. It was removed, and replaced with an imitation Gothic erection by Bernasconi. A fragment is preserved in the Triforium of the Abbey. A view of it appears in Dart's "Westminster Abbey." An Adam and Eve Gallery is also mentioned. It was so called from its containing the picture by Mabuse, now at Hampton Court.

In the banqueting-house Charles II. "touched" for the King's Evil. At this time the palace was divided up into a large number of private residences of courtiers and officials.

Evelyn gives a lengthy description of a Garter ceremonial in the chapel. His account of his last sight of Charles II. is well known, but will bear repetition.

"I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being

Sunday evening), which this day sennight I was witness of, the King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, etc. ; a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at Basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000 in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after was all in the dust."

James II. occupied St. James's, and his children were all born there. But William and Mary, on their accession, came to Whitehall. The situation of the palace, however, did not agree with his health, and he soon acquired the mansion now known as Kensington Palace for his London residence, after which Whitehall and St. James's only saw him and the Queen on state occasions.

In January, 1698, a fire broke out in the rooms of the King's laundress, a Dutchwoman ; and Macaulay says—

"The tapestry bedding, the wainscotes were soon in a blaze. Before midnight the King's apartments, the Queen's apartments, the wardrobe, the treasury, the office of the Privy-Council, the office of the Secretary of State, had been destroyed."

The old chapel of the palace, and one which had been fitted up for James II., both perished, as did the guard-room and the "glorious gallery" mentioned by Evelyn.

Mr. Loftie considers Macaulay's account exaggerated, and says that the larger part of the palace remained intact ; that abundant relics of the Tudor period were to be seen twenty years or so ago, and that he himself saw a pointed window in a basement as lately as 1877.

"The fact is," he says, "this part of the palace was never destroyed by fire, but perished gradually, being pulled down piecemeal, to make way for other buildings, or falling into decay."

As in Charles I.'s reign (a second and simpler design was prepared for him), it was proposed to rebuild the palace from Jones's plans ; but Charles' troubled reign made the

scheme impossible in his time, and William III.'s disinclination for the neighbourhood rendered it abortive on the second occasion.

From the time of the 1698 fire onwards, the palace of Whitehall ceased to be a royal residence.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the two old gates remained. The King's gate was removed in 1723, and in 1759 the Holbein gate followed it. The terra-cotta medallions on the latter went to Hampton Court.

WESTMINSTER PALACE

A PALACE is said to have stood on this site in the reign of Canute, and to have been destroyed by fire some thirty years before the Conquest. It is certain that there was a palace there, built in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and that he died in it, whether or not in the apartment afterwards known as the Painted Chamber cannot now be ascertained, though tradition affirms that it was the bed-chamber of the Confessor. In Westminster Palace Edward entertained the Duke of Normandy, who was, after Harold's brief resistance, to succeed him as occupant. Edward was stricken with his death sickness the night before the day on which it had been arranged that his new abbey of St. Peter's should be dedicated, and so lay on his deathbed in the palace while the solemnity was going forward in the neighbouring minster, where in a little time he was laid in the tomb which has ever since been venerated as the resting-place of a saint.

William the Conqueror and his Queen Matilda were crowned at Westminster, and, according to Stow, William, finding the palace inferior to the royal residences in France, added greatly to the structure. His son William Rufus erected the great hall known to this day as Westminster Hall, and if we have not now the actual building constructed by the Red King, it may be conjectured that his hall was of

the same dimensions, and that in the rebuilding under Richard II. the changes made affected the chamber in details, such as windows and doors, rather than in any structural characteristic. Rufus, receiving the admiring comments of his guests, at a Whitsuntide he kept at the palace, on the splendid proportions of the hall, boasted, according to Matthew Paris, that it was but as a bedchamber of the palace he intended to build.

King Stephen added to the palace a chapel, dedicated to his patron saint, which lasted till the time of Edward I., in whose reign it was rebuilt, and later burnt down. During the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III. it was again rebuilt in a more sumptuous fashion, and, the period being that in which Gothic architecture was in its most perfect stage, the chapel with its undercroft remained, till its destruction by fire in 1834, one of the most beautiful specimens of Gothic architecture in London. The walls were decorated with frescoes, but these were, in the reign of Edward VI., when the chapel was converted into the assembly-room of the House of Commons, hidden behind wainscoting, and not again disclosed until, after the Act of Union with Ireland, the chamber was reconstructed to admit of accommodation for the Irish members. The frescoes, when thus brought once more to light in 1800, were so perfectly fresh and bright as to admit of their being copied and engraved.

King John appointed Baldwin de London, clerk of the Exchequer, to be chaplain of St. Stephen's; but it appears, from the fact that Hugo Flory was confirmed Abbot of Canterbury in the King's Chapel at Westminster in the reign of William Rufus, that St. Stephen's had a predecessor. This is said to have been a small chapel used by Edward the Confessor, which stood near the west side of Westminster Hall.

In 1239 the Prince who was afterwards Edward I. was born at the palace. In Henry III.'s reign, and again in Edward I.'s, the palace was much injured by fire, on the

latter occasion so severely that the meetings of Parliament, which was sitting there, had to be transferred to the neighbouring house of the Archbishop of York. Henry III. had large fish-ponds attached to the palace, as to which there is record of one hundred pike being placed in them at one time. During his long reign, which was as tumultuous as it was long, the palace was on one occasion raided by soldiers, who drank the wine, broke the windows and furniture, and generally made havoc. On another occasion the citizens of London and the King's servants came to blows at a quintain-riding, and, the King's servants getting the worst of it, the city was fined a thousand marks. Richard II. built a gateway on the west side of the palace yard, known as the High Gate, which, though remarkable for its beauty, was never completely finished. It was turned into a prison for a short time, and in Queen Anne's reign was demolished.

Smith, in his "Antiquities of Westminster," says—

"A stone wall with some houses and a clock-house and also a gate towards the Woolstaple, occupied, in the time of Richard II., the north side of New Palace Yard, and a similar stone wall, with a gate at the end of Union Street, enclosed it on the west. This wall, by a gate at the north end of what is now St. Margaret Street, was connected with another like stone wall, extending westwards from the west side of Westminster Hall, so that the New Palace Yard was completely enclosed; and lastly, at the south end of St. Margaret Street, across the north end of the present Abingdon Street, were in like manner stone walls with gates in them. By these means, with the old palace on the east and south sides, and a close adjoining Westminster Abbey, and the Abbey itself on the west, the close having a stone wall round it, Old Palace Yard, like the New, was completely enclosed."

In 1397, the rebuilding of the great hall by Richard II. took place. In 1422, Henry VI., on his accession, when only an infant, was brought here by his mother, to be presented to Parliament; and when, at ten years of age, he was crowned, he was presented at Westminster, by the City of London, with a thousand pounds.

In Henry VI.'s reign, two houses, called "Paradise" and

the "Constabulary," adjoining St. Stephen's Chapel, were granted to John, Duke of Bedford. At this time, a fountain stood in the palace yard, which on high days ran wine instead of water. This is mentioned in the churchwardens' accounts, where is the entry, "Mem.—The King's Charter for the Condeff at the Palesgate remayneth in the custody of the churchwardens." This fountain was removed in Charles II.'s time. Edward IV. died at Westminster, and his son, Edward V., was taken by his mother into sanctuary at the adjoining Abbey, in a vain attempt to protect him from his uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester.

In Henry VII.'s day, Perkin Warbeck was pilloried before the door of Westminster Hall, and compelled to read aloud his confession of imposture.

Henry VIII. came to the palace with his first wife, Katherine of Arragon, but he was the last monarch who really resided there, for in 1512 the State apartments were destroyed by fire, and the King shortly afterwards, having possessed himself of York House—afterwards Whitehall, "Our palace of Westminster"—came to be represented by the new residence. The headquarters of the Parliament were at the Palace of Westminster from the date of its first assembly, although, from time to time, exigencies of health or the convenience of the King caused it to be summoned to meet at other places. At the outset, the two Houses sat together, very probably in the great hall. In the reign of Edward III., or earlier, the chapter-house of Westminster Abbey was assigned to the House of Commons as their place of assembly, and the Lords continued to sit in the palace. In Edward VI.'s reign, the Commons were transferred to St. Stephen's Chapel, which they continued to occupy till it was destroyed by fire in 1834.

The House of Lords at that date had for long occupied part of an ancient building known as the Court of Requests, and was hung with tapestry representing the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the gift of the states of Holland to

Queen Elizabeth. This tapestry, of course, perished in the fire, but engravings of it exist. Previous to the use of this building, an ancient apartment, adjoining the one known as the Prince's Chamber, had served the Lords for a meeting-place, and it was beneath this chamber that the cellars lay in which the Gunpowder Plot conspirators were accumulating their deadly store when the discovery of the plot took place. The Prince's Chamber and the adjoining room were demolished about 1823.

Between the old House of Lords and the old House of Commons stood the Painted Chamber, before mentioned as traditionally the bed-chamber of the Confessor. It was used at times for conferences between the two Houses, and on the wainscoting being removed, when it was proposed to increase the size of the House of Commons by utilizing the Painted Chamber, the origin of its appellation was discovered. The walls had a series of paintings on them, arranged in six bands. The subjects were chiefly battles, and the treatment similar to that of the Bayeux Tapestry. They were engraved by Smith, in his book on Westminster, and by Charles Stothard for the "*Vetusta Monumenta*."

These paintings were possibly executed under Henry III., in the twenty-first year of whose reign four pounds eleven shillings were paid to Odo, the clerk of the works at Westminster, for pictures to be done in the King's Chamber there.

In the Painted Chamber the examination of the witnesses was carried on, on the third, fourth, and fifth days of the trial of King Charles I. Here, too, the death warrant of the King was signed by Cromwell; and here the body of his daughter, Elizabeth Claypole, was laid in state; and, later, the body of Charles II. was laid here on the night before the burial in the Abbey. The great Lord Chatham, and his son William Pitt, each lay in state, too, in the Painted Chamber.

It was destroyed in the fire of 1834, until which time

INTERIOR OF WESTMINSTER HALL
WESTMINSTER PALACE



there survived one other chamber of the old palace which early in its existence acquired an unenviable notoriety. This was the famous Star Chamber, the *Chambre des Estoyers*, or *Estoilles*. Its occupation by the King's council dates at least as far back as the reign of Edward III., but it did not occupy the position of a court of justice until the time of Henry VII., when the proceedings of the Court of Star Chamber became practically synonymous with an overriding of the laws of the land. By its processes Henry VII. was enabled to make the intolerable exactions which rendered the name of his creatures Empson and Dudley infamous. In Charles I.'s reign Dr. Osbaldiston, Prebendary of Westminster, and Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, were here condemned for calling Archbishop Laud "the great Leviathan,"—the former, to have his ears tacked to the pillory at Westminster, and the latter to pay a fine of £5000. Osbaldiston escaped his punishment by leaving the realm. About the same time, John Lilburne was here, for seditious libels, condemned to stand in the pillory, to be whipped at the cart's tail from the Fleet Prison to Westminster Hall, and to pay a fine of £5000; and William Prynne, the author of "*Histrio Mastix*," was sentenced to stand twice in the pillory, to lose both his ears, to pay a heavy fine, and to suffer imprisonment for life, for having in his book declaimed against stage-plays, masques, and dancing.

The court was finally abolished in 1641, but the chamber remained till 1836, two years after the fire. An existing view of it shows a room with Tudor panelling and windows, a fireplace with a depressed pointed arch of the same date, surmounted by a renaissance, "overmantel," as it would be called nowadays, rising to the cornice, and a moulded plaster ceiling. A single length of panelling of an earlier period was on the wall facing the fireplace, and is supposed to have formed the background for the seat of the sovereign. The fittings of the room were purchased at its demolition by Sir

Edward Cust, and affixed to the walls of the dining-room at Leasowe Castle, Cheshire. After the fire it was discovered that the Star Chamber, which had long been used as a lumber-room, was partly filled with the old "tallies" with which the officials of the Exchequer kept the national accounts down to the end of the Georgian era. One account of the origin of the fire, indeed, is that an attempt was made to burn these tallies, which were of wood, in a stove in the House of Lords, which became overheated.

Besides the Great Hall, the only portion of the original palace that was preserved after the fire was the crypt and cloisters of St. Stephen's Chapel. All lovers of ancient architecture with historic associations must regret that no attempt was made to incorporate in the new building St. Stephen's Chapel itself and the Star and Painted Chambers. From views of the ruins after the fire it appears that St. Stephen's Chapel was reduced to a mere shell, the tracery of the windows, unlike that in the cloisters, having all perished. But enough remained to have made a restoration possible. St. Stephen's was an oblong chamber, lighted on either side by five pointed windows, each of four lights; there were crocketed pinnacles at each corner of the high-pitched roof at the summits of the buttresses which rose between the windows and on the gable points at either end. The interior was reached by a flight of steps leading to a highly decorative porch, which extended across the whole of one end of the building—a feature not paralleled in any other structure of the period in England. The crypt being entirely above ground, necessitated the stairs to the main body of the building. The crypt, when the new palace was built, was allowed to remain and was richly decorated. Its groined roof springs from groups of clustered pillars rising from the floor, but set against the wall, so that the chapel is a simple parallelogram. The effect of the painted and gilded walls and vaulting, the stained glass windows, and the patterned tiles which cover the floor is rather bewildering, and one feels a regret that

some plain surfaces were not left to rest the eye and enable the decorations to be more appreciated through the contrast. The cloisters, which were the last addition to the chapel before it was secularized, were also fortunately preserved and restored. St. Stephen's Chapel and Westminster Hall stood at right angles to one another, so that on two sides the cloisters ran along the outer walls of these two buildings. They were built in the reign of Henry VIII. by John Chambers, the last Dean of the chapel, and are of exceptionally beautiful character for that late period. A wonderful air of lightness is conveyed by there being no solid wall left, the windows occupying the whole of the spaces between the buttresses. They are singular, too, in consisting of two storeys, of which the lower one is vaulted with the fan-tracery of the day. The vaulting presents four varieties: that of the west side being the richest, that of the north and south somewhat plainer, and that of the east plainest. These three variations are supplemented by a fourth in the corner compartments of the arcade, where a greater appearance of massiveness has been aimed at. From the arcade which adjoins Westminster Hall, a tiny chapel, with semi-octagonal apse, and, like the cloister, of two storeys, projects into the centre of the quadrangle.

Westminster Hall itself has been said to be the largest chamber in Christendom the roof of which is unsupported by pillars. The roof is of oak, of simple but bold design; the spandrels, pierced with quatrefoils and pointed apertures, slightly relieving the general effect of massiveness; the brackets from which the pointed arches spring terminate with carved angels, and a louvre rises from the ridge. For a long period the top of Westminster Hall was used, as Temple Bar and London Bridge were, for the display of the heads of traitors; and after the Restoration there were placed there those of Oliver Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton.

It was at the coronation of Richard II. that we first hear of the ceremony of the King's Champion entering Westminster

Hall, and challenging any to dispute the sovereign's rightful claim to the throne. The office of champion was the privilege of the Marmion family, and passed, by marriage, in Edward III.'s time, to the Dymoke family, whose head, Sir John Dymoke, it was who acted as champion for Richard II. The championship has remained hereditary in the Dymoke family ever since. On the occasion of the coronation of William and Mary, an old woman, supposed to be a man in disguise, is said to have made off with the champion's gauntlet, leaving her own in its place, with a note containing an appointment for a combat in Hyde Park. Of course, no combat took place. The last time the ceremony was observed was at the coronation of King George IV., since which time, perhaps because it appeared a little too much of the nature of travesty of a good old custom, it has been discontinued.

The following is the account given by Pepys, in his "Diary," of the scene in Westminster Hall after the coronation of Charles II. :—

"Into the Hall I got, where it was very fine with hangings and scaffolds one upon another, full of brave ladies ; and my wife in one little one on the right hand. Here I staid walking up and down, and at last upon one of the side stalls I stood and saw the King come in with all the persons (but the soldiers) that were yesterday in the cavalcade ; and a most splendid sight it was to see them in their several robes. And the King came in with his crown on and his sceptre in his hand, under a canopy borne up by six silver staves carried by Barons of the Cinque Ports, and little bells at every end. And after a long time he got up to the further end, and all set themselves down at their several tables ; and that was also a brave sight : and the King's first course carried up by Knights of the Bath. And many fine ceremonies there was of the Herald's leading up people before him, and bowing, and my Lord of Albemarle's going to the kitchen, and eating a bit of the first dish that was to go to the King's table. But, above all, was these three Lords, Northumberland and Suffolke, and the Duke of Ormond, coming before the courses on horseback, and staying so all dinner time, and at last bringing up (Dymock) the King's Champion, all in armour, on horseback, with his spear and target carried before him. And a Herald proclaims 'That if any dare deny Charles Stewart to be lawful King of England, here was a Champion that would fight with him,' and with these words the Champion flings down his gauntlet, and all this he do three times

in his going towards the King's table. To which when he is come, the King drinks to him, and then sends him the cup, which is of gold, and he drinks it off, and then rides back again with the cup in his hand. I went from the table to see the Bishops at dinner, and was infinitely pleased with it. And at the Lords' table I met with William Howe, and he spoke to my Lord for me, and he did give him four rabbits and a pullet, and so Mr. Creed and I got Mr. Minshell to give us some bread, and so we at a stall ate it, as everybody else did what they could get. I took a great deal of pleasure to go up and down and look upon the ladies, and to hear the musique of all sorts, but above all the six violins. About six o'clock at night they had dined and I went up to my wife. And strange it is to think that these two days have held up fair till all is done, and the King gone out of the Hall, and then it fell a-raining and thundering and lightning as I have not seen it do for some years; which people did take great notice of, God's blessing of the works of these two days, which is a foolery to take too much notice of such things. I observed little disorder in all this, only the King's footmen had got hold of the canopy and would keep it from the Barons of the Cinque Ports, which they endeavoured to force from them again, but could not do it till my Lord Duke of Albemarle caused it to be put into Sir R. Pye's hand till to-morrow to be decided."

Pepys makes several other references to Westminster Hall, showing how it was, like the nave of St. Paul's, made use of for baser purposes than its builders had intended.

Oct. 26, 1660.—"To Westminster Hall, and bought, among other books, one of the Life of our Queen, which I read at home to my wife; but it was so sillily writ that we did nothing but laugh at it."

May, 1661.—"I went to Westminster, where it was very pleasant to see the Hall in the condition it is in now, with the Judges on the benches at the further end of it."

Sept. 4, 1662.—"To Westminster Hall, and there bought the first news booke of L'Estrange's writing."

The lower part of the Hall about this date, and for a hundred years afterwards, was let out to booksellers, milliners, and other tradespeople, even whilst the Judges were sitting at the upper end.

Of the many famous trials that have taken place in Westminster Hall, brief mention must be made.

Sir Thomas More was condemned to death here in 1535, and Cardinal Fisher in the same year; the Protector Somerset

of fourteen leprous women, who were to live the lives of recluses, "chastely and honestly in Divine service." The original endowment is supposed to have been provided by the citizens of London. The Abbots of Westminster claimed jurisdiction over the hospital in contests with various Bishops of London, who disputed the claim; and, in the time of Stephen Langton, the question was submitted to arbitration, with the result that the claim of the Abbots was upheld. But the judgment was hardly delivered before fresh disputes arose, the counter-claimant, in this instance, being the King's Treasurer, and, by persistence or cunning, the right of visitation was eventually wrested from the Abbot. About the time of Henry III. the endowment was augmented by grants of land of an annual value of fifty-six pounds, and, in consequence, eight brethren, of whom six were chaplains, were added to the foundation. Edward I., who enforced very vigorous measures against lepers within the city boundaries, was generous to this useful institution in the fields beyond, and, in 1290, granted to it the privilege of holding a fair annually on St. James's Day and the five days following, a privilege which must have been valuable to the hospital as a source of revenue. Edward's father had rebuilt the hospital, and placed it under the government of a Master, with the result that fresh disputes as to jurisdiction cropped up, this time between the Masters and the Abbots, which continued at intervals until, in 1450, Henry VI. granted the hospital to his new foundation of Eton College. In the custody of the authorities of Eton College it remained until the time of Henry VIII., who, in the twenty-third year of his reign (1532), made an arrangement by which the hospital, then estimated of the value of one hundred pounds per annum, was exchanged with him by the college, for certain lands at Chattisham, in Suffolk. As soon as this negotiation was completed, the inmates of the hospital were pensioned, and the buildings demolished, to make way for the King's new "Manor House."

FRIARY COURT
ST. JAMES'S PALACE



Henry's palace of Westminster had been rendered uninhabitable by a disastrous fire, and he had not yet acquired York House from Wolsey, so he at once set about the erection of the buildings on the site of the hospital. They are said to have been designed by Thomas Cromwell, but it is more likely that Holbein was the architect. As was natural at this period, the palace took the same form as Hampton Court and other great edifices of the day, consisting of low groups of buildings surrounding a series of quadrangles, and though most of Henry's work has disappeared, the ground plan of the palace remains to this day, but little changed. The material used was red-brick, with stone windows and doors.

Besides the great gateway, facing St. James's Street, with its four octagonal towers at the corners, there only exist of the original palace a few scattered portions: six turrets in different parts of the building, the Tapestry Room, and the Chapel Royal have undergone the least alteration. Doubtless, in many places the walls are the walls of Henry's palace, but refacing has removed the Tudor brickwork which would have displayed their age. Henry's initials are discernible over the three external doorways in the clock-tower; and in the Presence Chamber, on the chimney-piece, the initials H. and A. (Anne Boleyn) are to be seen intertwined.

After the completion of the palace Henry does not appear to have made much use of it. He acquired the surrounding lands for conversion into a park, which he enclosed with a brick wall, and, by a document quoted in another part of this volume, erected the whole of his Westminster possessions into an honour. In Abbot Islip's conveyance of some of this estate to the King there is mention of the land called "Rosamundis," which would show that a former name of the pond in the park, Rosamund's Pool, is of ancient origin. It seems probable that Henry granted St. James's to his natural son, Henry Fitzroy, created

Duke of Richmond and Somerset. This boy's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, of Kynlet, Shropshire, widow of Gilbert, Lord Talbois. He was born in 1519, and the King was much attached to him, loading him with favours, and procuring him for his wife the Lady Mary Howard, only daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. The boy was wild, profligate, extravagant, and died at the early age of sixteen, on July 22, 1536, at St. James's Palace.

Edward VI., like his father, made little use of St. James's, though one little incident of an amusing nature occurred during his residence here, of which Miss Strickland gives a detailed account. The King's uncle, Thomas Seymour, the Lord High Admiral, had apartments in the palace, and having taken the dangerous step of marrying, without leave, the widow of Henry VIII., sought an opportunity of setting matters right with the King. Being denied access to the royal presence, he hit upon the expedient of prompting one of the King's attendants, named Fowler, to suggest to his master that it might not be amiss for the Admiral to marry, and to persuade the King to name a suitable bride. Edward guilelessly responded to Fowler's promptings, naming, at first, "My Lady Anne of Cleves," and then, after a pause, substituting his own sister Mary. This did not at all tally with the Admiral's desires, but, still afraid to confess that he had married without the King's permission, he next commissioned Fowler to beg Edward to write a letter to his stepmother, and support his suit. This the King consented to do. Whether he ever discovered that he had been tricked is not on record.

In Queen Mary's reign, St. James's first became the most important seat of the royal court. She spent much of her time here, and was at the palace when the peace between England and France was ratified and surrender made of the town, the name of which, Calais, she declared would be found graven on her heart after her death. She died at St. James's on November 17, 1558. Her body lay in the

privy chamber until the 10th of December following, when it was removed into the Chapel Royal, and on the 13th, the coffin, surmounted by the customary waxen effigy, was borne to Westminster Abbey for burial. Mass was said daily in the chamber while the body lay there, and three masses each day in the chapel after its removal to the latter place.

Queen Elizabeth frequently came to St. James's for a short time, but her only long stay here was at the time of the threatened invasion of the Invincible Armada. During one of her briefer visits, Elizabeth here created Sir Robert Dudley, her Master of Horse, a peer, with the title of Earl of Leicester.

In Elizabeth's time St. James's is thus described by Norden—

“Not far from this glorious hall [Westminster Hall] another of Her Highnes houses descryeth itself, of a quadrate form, erected of brick, the exterior shape whereof, although it appears without any sumptuous or superfluous devices, yet is the spot very princelye, and the same with art contrived within and without. It standeth from other buyldinges about two furlongs, having a farme house opposite to its north gate. But the situation is pleasant, imbued with a good ayre and pleasant prospects. On the east London offereth itself in view; in the south the stately buyldings of Westminster, with the pleasant park, and the delights thereof; on the north the green fields. It was built by King Henry VIII.”

In the year following the accession of James I. the palace was assigned to his son Henry, Prince of Wales, as his London residence. The outdoor offices being considered inadequate, instructions were given for building operations, which were protracted over the extraordinary period of six years, so that the Prince did not actually enter on his occupancy of the palace till 1610. When he had taken possession the Prince commenced to entertain in a lavish fashion, and his levees were much more thronged than those of the King, his father. The common result followed, the King became jealous of his own son's popularity, and is said on one occasion to have made the remark, “Will

he bury me alive?" The Prince's household consisted at this time of 426 persons, 295 of whom were in receipt of salaries. The Prince's tenure, however, was not to last long. When only nineteen he passed away at St. James's Palace, after an illness of only twelve days. The nature of his malady was not clear to his physicians, but it appears to have been some sort of fever. Towards the end of his illness he was bled, much against the will of Dr. Butler, one of the physicians, who in knowledge and skill was greatly in advance of his time. It is recorded that a few hours before he died there was administered a dose of Sir Walter Raleigh's famous cordial, which that distinguished prisoner, with whom the Prince was on terms of intimacy, sent from the Tower. That it acted as was desirable is evidenced by the statement that it threw him into a sweat; but resort was evidently made to it too late in the course of the fever, for it to be of any avail. A very lengthy account of his illness and death from a manuscript of John More, Bishop of Ely, is printed in Peck's "*Desiderata Curiosa*," from which it appears that the most antiquated remedies were made use of, as, for instance, pigeons were applied to his head which had been shaven, and "a cock was cloven by the back and applied to the soles of his feet." Perhaps the most pathetic incident related by More is that of the Prince's calling out repeatedly to Sir David Murray, his most trusted servant, "David, David, David." On Murray's demanding his pleasure, he could only reply, "I would say somewhat, but I cannot utter it." He died November 6, 1612, and at the autopsy it became clear that, had he recovered from this illness, his life could not have been greatly prolonged, for pulmonary consumption had already set in.

The resemblance of the portrait of Prince Henry, by Van Somer, to the late Duke of Clarence and Avondale, is somewhat remarkable, having regard to the number of generations that separated the two Princes.

Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I., succeeded his

brother at St. James's, and upon his accession, continued to occupy the palace a great deal. Here five of his children were born, including the two who afterwards succeeded him on the throne. Charles I., however, was not fond of St. James's; it was his wife's partiality for the place that kept him there. It is stated that, when her large French retinue was still with her at St. James's, their maintenance cost the enormous sum of £240 a day. The dismissal of these French attendants is mentioned elsewhere in this volume. The housekeeper at St. James's reported to the King after their departure, that they had "so defiled the house, as a week's work would not make it clean," but this may have been merely a characteristic instance of the British prejudice against foreigners, or an attempt to curry favour with the King by maligning the French attendants, whom, it was well known, he disliked.

In 1638, Charles granted St. James's Palace to the Queen-Mother of France, his own wife's mother, and she set up a little Court there, but was never popular, and by her presence increased the difficult position of the King. At last Parliament offered her a gift of £10,000 if she would leave the kingdom. Lilly gives the following account of her departure :—

"I saw the old Queen Mother of France departing from London. A sad spectacle it was, and produced tears in my eyes and those of many other beholders to see an aged, lean, decrepit, poor queen, ready for her grave, necessitated to depart hence, having no other place of residence left her but where the courtesy of her hard fate assigned. She had been the only stately and magnificent woman of Europe, wife to the greatest king that ever lived in France, mother unto one king and two queens."

She withdrew to Cologne, where she died the following year, in actual need.

In this reign the palace of St. James's took on a new rôle, that of prison. Here, in 1642, some of the King's children were placed under the governance of the Countess

of Roxburgh, who was succeeded in 1643 by the Countess of Dorset, and on her death, in 1645, by the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland. It was probably Henry, Duke of Gloucester, and the Princess Elizabeth, who were first placed there; for of course the Prince of Wales was at large, and the Princess Mary was already married to the son of the Prince of Orange, whilst the Duke of York was not sent there until after the surrender of Oxford. In 1646, Princess Henrietta, who had been born in Exeter, and was only two years of age, was sent, under the care of Lady Dalkeith, to join the other royal children at St. James's. Lady Dalkeith, however, disguised herself as a poor old deformed woman, and, dressing the Princess as a little boy, whom she called her son Pierre, made her way to Dover; escaping whence to France, she delivered the child to her mother. The Princess protested in an infantile way at being dubbed Pierre, but, luckily, did not attract the attention of any one who attempted to arrest her protector. The Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of York, and the Princess Elizabeth remained under surveillance there until 1648, when, on the 20th of April, the Duke of York, effecting his escape whilst playing a game of hide-and-seek with his brother and sister, was disguised as a girl by Colonel Bamfield, a loyal attendant, and brought safely to Gravesend, where a Dutch vessel was in waiting to carry him to his sister, the Princess of Orange.

The other children were, probably in consequence of this escape, removed to Syon House, the Duke of Northumberland's residence at Isleworth, whence they were brought to St. James's the day before his execution, to say their farewell to him.

The account of this meeting, written by the Princess Elizabeth herself, is pathetic in its old-fashioned gravity, but Charles's children, in their sad vicissitudes, must have grown old before their time. The Princess was fourteen at this date. Her account is endorsed, "What the King said

to me on the 29th January, 1648, [1649 in our reckoning], the last time I had the happiness to see him."

"He told her he was glad she had come, for though he had not time to say much, yet somewhat he wished to say to her which he could not to another, and he feared the cruelty was too great to permit his writing. 'But, sweetheart,' he added, 'thou wilt forget what I tell thee.' Then the Princess, shedding abundance of tears, told him she would write down all he said to her. He wished her, he said, not to grieve and torment herself for him, for it was a glorious death he should die—it being for the laws and religion of the land. He told her, moreover, what books to read against Popery. He said that he had forgiven all his enemies, and he hoped God would forgive them also. Above all, he bade her tell her mother that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love for her would be the same to the last. Withal, he commanded the Princess and her brother to love their mother and be obedient to her. He desired the Princess not to grieve for him, for he should die a martyr, and he doubted not but God would restore the throne to his son, and that they would be all happier than they could possibly have been had he lived; then, taking the Duke of Gloucester on his knee, he said, 'Sweetheart, now will they cut off thy father's head;' upon which words the child looked very earnestly and steadfastly at him. 'Mark, child, what I say,' continued the King, 'they will cut off my head and perhaps make thee a king; but, mark me, thou must not be a king, so long as thy brothers Charles and James do live, for they will cut off thy brothers' heads when they can catch them, and cut off thy head at last, too; and therefore I charge thee, don't be made a king by them:' at which the child said earnestly, 'I will be torn in pieces first,'—which ready reply from so young an infant filled the King's eyes with tears of admiration and pleasure."

The account goes on with a message to the Duke of York that he must now regard Charles, not as his brother, but as his sovereign.

Charles had been brought from Windsor to St. James's on the morning of January 19, 1649, and the day following was taken to Westminster for the trial. He appears to have been kept under surveillance at the house of Sir Robert Cotton, adjoining Westminster Palace, during the trial, until, on the 27th, sentence was passed, when he was removed back to St. James's. It seems probable that the plans laid by Ashburnham for the escape of the King from St. James's Palace had come to the knowledge of his gaolers, and so the

arrangement for lodging him at Sir Robert Cotton's house was adopted to defeat the scheme. The French ambassador is supposed to have had a share in this endeavour to save Charles, and to have had a ship in readiness to convey him to France. The King is reported to have replied to the ambassador's persuasions with a quotation from Ovid :—

“Qui procumbit humi non habet unde cadat”—

words almost exactly corresponding to the well-known line—

“He that is down need fear no fall.”

“Sire,” said the ambassador, “they may occasion his head to fall.”

Sir Thomas Herbert relates that, on the evening of the day on which the trial concluded, the King took a ring from his finger, and commanded him to go from St. James's to a lady living in Channel Row, the wife of Sir W. Wheeler, and give her the ring without saying a word. The lady handed him, in return for the ring, which she retained, “a little cabinet which was closed with three seals, two of them being the King's arms, the third was the figure of a Roman, praying him to deliver it to the same hand that sent the ring.”

The cabinet contained the few remains of the King's jewels, which he divided between his little son and daughter at the interview already described.

On the day of the execution, the King, after receiving the Holy Communion at St. James's Palace, passed out through the garden into the park, and walked across to Whitehall, guarded by soldiers. His body was, the following day, brought back to St. James's, where it remained till February 7th, when it was removed to Windsor for burial.

Eight years before Charles's death his eldest daughter Mary was married in the chapel at St. James's to Count William of Nassau, eldest son of Henry Prince of Orange,

THE GATEWAY OF ST. JAMES'S PALACE
FROM ST. JAMES'S STREET



by whom she became the mother of the prince who afterwards reigned in England as William III. This was the first marriage that was solemnized at St. James's, though the banns of marriage between Charles's sister Elizabeth, "the Queen of Hearts," and the Elector Palatine, afterwards King of Bohemia, were published in the chapel.

One of Charles's children, the Princess Anne, died at St. James's in 1636, before she had completed her fourth year. Fuller relates that the child, just before death, said to Mistress Conant, one of the royal rockers, "I am not able to say my long prayer," by which she meant the Lord's Prayer, "but I will say my short one: 'Lighten mine eyes, O Lord, lest I sleep the sleep of death,'" upon which she passed away.

The Duke of Gloucester, Henry, who had been allowed to join his mother in France, returned to London with his brothers Charles and James on the Restoration, and almost immediately afterwards died, at St. James's Palace, of small-pox.

During the interregnum "St. James's House," as it is styled, was placed at the disposal of Cromwell, but he never made any use of it personally. Indeed, it seems to have been converted into a barracks and prison, for the Riding House at St. James's was ordered to be prepared for Colonel Pride's men, and the Marshal General was instructed to remove his prison from Whitehall to St. James's. In 1651 Colonel Fielder reported that prisoners taken at the battle of Worcester were quartered at St. James's House—

"twenty of which had been chosen by direction of the council to be made examples of, and that the remainder by being kept in restraint had fallen sick and infected one another, and endangered the soldiers quartered there, therefore the House were to declare their pleasure as to disposal of them."

The soldiers were at once removed to Ireland, only to be replaced by others, up to that time quartered at Sion College.

Whether the sick prisoners remained at St. James's is not stated, but in 1658 there were prisoners in the palace on a charge of attempting to restore Charles to the throne. They were removed to the Tower. It was a sign of the way the wind was blowing. General Monk took up his quarters at St. James's Palace whilst he was paving the way for the return of the King.

Charles II. did not use St. James's except for State purposes, though his mistresses had apartments provided for them in the palace. The Duchess of Mazarin and Madame Beauclair removed here from Whitehall, where they were at first lodged, and the Duchess of Portsmouth had rooms both in St. James's and Whitehall. The major part of the palace, however, was assigned to the Duke of York for his London residence, and here most of his children, both by Anne Hyde, his first wife, and Mary of Modena, his second, were born. Charles greatly improved the park, adding about thirty-six acres to it, and extending the Mall to a length of half a mile. He planted trees both in the Mall and in Birdcage Walk, an avenue which took its name from the number of birds introduced by Charles. These and the water-fowl with which he stocked the ponds, which he turned into a continuous piece of water, the King made a practice of feeding when he walked in the park, and, as he was in the habit of doing this without friends or attendants, the people resorted to the park to watch his Majesty. The game of Pell Mell, a sort of cross between golf and croquet, was introduced, it is supposed from Italy, by Charles II., and the thoroughfare originally known as Catherine Street, in honour of Charles's Queen, received from this circumstance its present name of Pall Mall.

Pepys, on May 16, 1663, records in his "Diary," that he—

"walked in the Parke, discoursing with the keeper of the Pell Mell, who was sweeping of it, who told me of what the earth is mixed that do floor the Mall, and that over all there is cockle-shells powdered and spread to keep it fast, which, however, in dry weather turns to dust and deads the ball."

Roger Coke relates how Prince Rupert met the King at the further end of Pall Mall one morning, about the time that the Dutch were in the Medway,—

“and the King told the Prince how he had shot a duck, and such a dog had fetched it, and so they walked on till the King came to St. James’s House, and there the King said to the Prince, ‘Let’s go see Cambridge and Kendall,’ the Duke’s two sons who lay there a-dying.”

Charles’s intercourse with his brother and heir was always of the most cordial character, and though the Duke and his wife held levees at St. James’s, they fixed on different days from those on which the King received at Whitehall, and there was never the least rivalry between the two courts. Indeed, Charles always said that the most loyal and virtuous of his courtiers were to be found at his brother’s receptions at St. James’s.

At St. James’s the Duke of York’s first wife died, receiving before her death the sacrament according to the rites of the Catholic Church, with her husband, his attendant, Mr. Dupuy, and her own lady-in-waiting, Lady Cranmer.

During Charles II.’s reign there were married in the chapel of St. James’s Sir Christopher Wren to Miss Fitzwilliam, his second wife; and the Duke of York’s two daughters, Mary, afterwards Queen, to her cousin William of Orange, afterwards William III., and Anne, afterwards Queen, to Prince George of Denmark, King Charles himself being present at the wedding of each of his nieces to give the bride away.

An odd instance of Charles’s exercise of kingly authority occurred when the first child of the second wife of the Duke of York was born. The mother told James that she wished her daughters to be baptized with Catholic rites, and James explained to her that it would be unconstitutional, and might lead to her child being taken from her, and brought up elsewhere. Mary of Modena, however, was not to be thwarted. She sent for her confessor, Father Gallis, and had the baby

baptized privately in her bedroom. When the King arrived and raised the question of a date for the christening, the Duchess calmly told him that the child was already baptized. Charles took not the slightest notice of the communication, but gave instructions for the Chapel Royal to be prepared for a ceremony and a bishop to be in attendance, and there the Princess was baptized according to the rites of the Church of England, receiving the name of Catherina Laura.

Upon James's accession to the throne, he showed a marked preference for Whitehall as a residence, but his wife continued to use St. James's whenever possible, and slept there the night before her coronation, performing her devotions there the following morning, and being attired there for the ceremony, by her ladies-in-waiting,—

“in her royal robes of purple velvet furred with ermine, and looped with ropes and tassels of pearls, her kirtle being of rich white and silver brocade, ornamented with pearls and precious stones, with a stomacher very elaborately set with jewels.”

When she was expecting her fifth child, Burnet says, “the Queen said she would go to St. James's and look for the good hour,” and on the day following her arrival, James Francis Edward, the Prince so long an unsuccessful claimant to the British throne, was born at St. James's, it being the morning of Trinity Sunday, June 10, 1688.

Macaulay speaks of him as the most unfortunate of Princes, destined to seventy-seven years of exile and wandering, of vain projects, of honours more galling than insults, and of hopes such as make the heart sick. The belief that this child was not the son of James II. and Mary of Modena at all, but one brought into the palace in a warming-pan, and foisted on the nation as the heir to the throne, was long entertained by a very large section of the public. The bed in which the Queen lay stood close to the door of a back staircase leading down to one of the inner courts, and would have been conveniently enough placed to favour such a contrivance.

But according to Miss Strickland, sixty-seven persons were present in the chamber when the child was born. They could not all have been deceived, nor could they all have been privy to a deception. So obstinate were the upholders of the warming-pan theory, however, that a book published in London in 1689, entitled, "A Full Answer to the Depositions and to all other the Pretences and Arguments whatsoever concerning the Birth of the Prince of Wales," gives a plan of the palace, with a dotted line traced over the route asserted to have been taken by the introducer of the spurious Prince to the Queen's bed-chamber. Bishop Burnet, as is well known, did all in his power to foster belief in the theory; but he, not content with implying that an imposture was practised at the supposed birth, goes on to suggest, that the child died of an illness which befell it, and that a second was procured in its place.

In the night of the day following his birth, the baby Prince was taken ill. As Sir J. Bramstone says in his autobiography, "The Kynge was called up by 3 of clock, and the Phisitians sent for. An issue was made, the fitt went off, and the Prince was well again." That this illness not only nearly cut short the life of the Prince, but occasioned neglect of the Queen, which might have endangered her life, is related in the memoirs of the Queen herself. She says:—

"A few hours after the birth of my son, the physicians prescribed something for him which they say is good for babies. I don't remember now what it was, but this I know, that by mistake or carelessness they repeated the dose, which made him so ill that every one thought he was dying. As I was in childbed the King would not have me wakened with these tidings, but while every one was in a state of distraction he retired into his oratory to offer that child who was so precious to him to God. I awoke in the mean time and asked for some broth, but saw no one near me, neither nurse nor attendant. I then called. The only person who remained to take care of me was a chambermaid not more than one and twenty years old, and thus I learned that which they wished to conceal from me. The Countess of Sunderland was lady of the bed that night, and it was her duty to have watched beside me."

After the birth of this Prince, no long time elapsed before the abdication and flight of James, and the Prince of Orange, his own nephew, arrived at St. James's to supplant him. Evelyn, in his "Diary," says, "All the world goes to see the Prince at St. James's, where there is a greate Court. There I saw him; he is very stately, serious, and reserved."

Lord Craven, who was on duty at St. James's, when the Dutch guards were sent by William to relieve him, absolutely refused to quit his post, and was preparing to make armed resistance, when a message arrived from James, that he was to surrender, whereupon he withdrew his company.

William and Mary used St. James's for a while, after the destruction of Whitehall by fire, but they had no liking for the place, and the Princess Anne, with Prince George of Denmark, shortly afterwards took up their residence there, and were at the palace when the news of the death of King William was brought by Bishop Burnet, "who prostrated himself at the new Queen's feet, full of joy and duty." The "joy," at such a moment, might have made some princesses distrustful of the "duty."

St. James's was used by Queen Anne more constantly than it had been by any previous sovereign, although Windsor and Kensington were her favourite residences. Here she was brought, on the death of her husband, by the Duchess of Marlborough, who writes—

"I carried her privately through my lodging into the Green Closet, and gave her a cup of broth, and afterwards she ate a very good dinner, and at night I found her at a table again, where she had been eating, and Mrs. Masham very close by her, who went out of the room as soon as I came in, but with an air of insolence and anger, and not in the humble manner she had sometimes affected, of bedchamber woman. . . . I never came to her but I found Mrs. Masham there, or had been just gone out from her, which at last tired me, and I went to her seldomer."

The days when the friends were "Mrs. Morley" and "Mrs. Freeman" to one another were over, and Mrs. Masham had triumphed over the proud Duchess.

Anne was a great stickler for etiquette, and it is related that Bolingbroke had some difficulty in introducing to the royal presence Prince Eugene, who had arrived late at St. James's without a court wig. He was eventually allowed to enter on account of the particular celebrity of his character, but the circumstance, the Queen said, "should not be drawn into precedent." On another occasion a nobleman's son, on arriving from abroad with despatches, appeared at court in an undress wig, and when the Queen, who spied the offence immediately, was told that he had been unaware of the etiquette of the court, she declared that to be no excuse, saying, "she supposed she might soon expect to see all her officers come to court in boots and spurs."

Yet what was considered an irreverence was permitted in the Chapel Royal, where a German attendant of the Queen knitted during the sermon. Steele inveighed against this in the *Guardian* "because the irreverent knitter was then in the immediate presence of God, and *her Majesty*, who were both affronted together."

Queen Anne revived the custom of touching for the evil, which had been dropped by William III. We learn that, on one occasion, about two hundred people were brought to St. James's for the healing, and amongst them a child about two years and a half old, afterwards to become celebrated as Dr. Johnson. His mother brought him all the way from Lichfield to be touched, by the advice of a physician of fame, Sir John Floyer. Being asked, late in life, if he could remember Queen Anne, he said that he had "a confused but somehow a sort of solemn recollection of a lady in diamonds and a long black hood."

George I., when he arrived in London on his accession, was conducted to St. James's, where he and his son, the Prince of Wales, lived the life of private gentlemen. Walpole gives an amusing anecdote of his earliest experience of English ways. Says the King—

"This is a strange country. The first morning after my arrival at St.

James's, I looked out of the window and saw a Park with walks and a canal, which they told me were mine. The next day, Lord Chetwynd, the ranger of my park, sent me a fine brace of carp, out of my canal, and I was told I must give five guineas to Lord Chetwynd's servant for bringing me my own carp, out of my canal, in my own Park."

George I.'s wife was closely imprisoned in his Continental state, and was never brought to England, but the King assigned apartments in St. James's to his mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, and Miss Brett, the latter of whom was half-sister of the poet Richard Savage. Miss Brett, on the occasion of the last visit of George I. to Hanover, ordered a door to be broken open from her apartments into the garden of the palace. The Princess Anne, the King's granddaughter, indignant at such company being thrust upon her in her walks, ordered the door to be bricked up again. Miss Brett immediately gave fresh orders for it to be opened. The dispute was ended by the death of the King, when Miss Brett, of course, vanished from the palace. This Princess Anne is reported to have lamented to her mother that she should have had brothers, as otherwise she might have been Queen. On the Queen rebuking her, she exclaimed, "Why, I would die to-morrow, if I could reign to-day."

On his accession, George II., who with Queen Caroline had been residing at Leicester House, removed to St. James's. George was passionately attached to his wife, and she apparently worshipped him, though, strangely enough, there was an irremediable quarrel between them and their eldest son, Frederick. The Queen appears to have been a woman of literary and artistic tastes, which she had the means of indulging. She died at St. James's in 1737, refusing the consolations of religion at the hands of the clergy, though, at the last moment, she commanded the Princess Emily "Pray!" To her weeping husband she gave, off her finger, the ring he had placed there at her coronation, saying, "I had everything I ever possessed from you, and to you whatever I have I return." She then urged him to marry again,

GENERAL VIEW OF ST. JAMES'S PALACE
FROM PALL MALL



upon which, between his sobs, the King replied, "Non, j'aurai des maîtresses." The Queen's retort, "Ah, mon Dieu, cela n'empêche pas," is not so extraordinary when it is remembered that the King's mistress, Mrs. Howard, afterwards Countess of Suffolk, had been living in St. James's under the Queen's very eyes. Her presence there was the more notorious, because her husband had come down to the palace and blusteringly demanded that his wife should be given up to him. Walpole says that his noisy honour was appeased with a pension of £1,200 a year. Walpole is the authority, too, for the story that Queen Caroline once asked Sir Robert what it would cost to enclose St. James's Park, which had been open to the public since Charles II.'s time. "About three crowns, madam," was the adroit answer of the minister. George carried out his intention, and another lady, the Baroness Walmoden, afterwards Countess of Yarmouth, was installed in St. James's Palace. But the King's life was a wretched one after Caroline's death, and his reply to the Duchess of Hamilton, the beautiful Miss Gunning, who had tactlessly told him the only sight in the world she desired to see was a coronation, is one of the most pathetic things recorded of him. The King took her hand, and exclaimed with a sigh, "I apprehend you have not long to wait. You will soon have your desire."

George III. removed to St. James's on his grandfather's death, and his drawing-rooms were held there, but he made Buckingham House his London residence, as did George IV. for the greater part of his reign. The Duke and Duchess of Clarence had apartments at St. James's. The name Clarence House commemorates their occupancy, before the accession of the Duke as William IV., of that building, which is really a part of the palace, but on the death of his brother the new King moved into the royal apartments in the palace proper. Queen Victoria never occupied St. James's, although it was constantly used for court ceremonies during her reign, and until the erection of a chapel at Buckingham Palace, she

attended the Chapel Royal, St. James's. During her reign the apartments in the palace which had been held for sixty years by her uncle the King of Hanover were granted to her aunt, the Duchess of Cambridge, who occupied them thirty-eight years. On the death of the Duchess they were reconstructed for the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, but the Prince did not live to occupy them, and they were completed for his brother, the present Duke of Cornwall and York, whose town residence, under the name of York House, they form.

During the reign of Queen Victoria the chapel at St. James's was the scene of her own marriage to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha; of the marriage of her eldest daughter, the Princess Royal, to Prince Frederick of Prussia, afterwards the German Emperor; and of that of her grandson, the Duke of York, to Princess Victoria Mary of Teck.

The building long known as the German Chapel Royal, though it appears to be separated from the palace, was, until the fire in 1809 destroyed the adjacent apartments, as much a part of the palace as the rest of the buildings. It is supposed to have been originally erected by Inigo Jones, as a chapel for the Infanta of Spain, whom Charles I. was expected to marry; was actually fitted up for the use of Queen Henrietta Maria; dismantled during the Commonwealth; refitted for the Portuguese queen of Charles II.; the scene of the baptism of Prince James Francis Edward, son of James II., and of the consecration to the episcopate of the Pope's Nuncio who had represented the Pope as godfather to the young Prince. The Catholic services were discontinued on the accession of William and Mary.

Pepys gives an account of a visit he made there :—

"To the Parke—the Lord's Day, the Queen coming by in her coach going to her Chapel at St. James's (the first time that it had been ready for her) I crowded after her, and I got up to the room where her Closet is, and there stood and saw the fine Altar ornaments, and the Fryers in their habits, and the priests came in with their fine Crosses, and many other fine things. I heard their musique too, which may be good, but it did not appear so to

me, neither as to their manner of singing, nor was it good concord to my ears, whatever the matter was. The Queen very devout, but what pleased me best was to see my dear Lady Castlemaine, who, though a Protestant, did wait upon the Queen to chapel. By and by, after mass was done, a fryer with his Cowl, did rise up and preach a sermon in Portuguese, which I, not understanding, did go away, and to the King's Chapel, but that was done."

Pepys paid a visit to the "fryers," and went into one of the cells, which he calls "a pretty little room, very clean, hung with pictures and set with books." He adds, "I thought it a very good life," and almost wished himself "one of the Capuchins." It was from this religious house attached to the chapel that Friary Court received its name.

The State apartments, which are approached by the grand staircase, include the Guard Chamber, the Tapestry Room (or old Presence Chamber), Queen Anne's Room, the Ante-Drawing Room, the Throne Room or Presence Chamber, and the Queen's Closet. These rooms are all very sumptuously furnished, and contain a long series of historical portraits of the highest interest. It is, however, only on rare occasions that it is possible for the public to be admitted.



gardens disposed in such a fashion as to help him to imagine his surroundings were still Dutch. For William's sympathies, King of England though he had become, remained Dutch to the end. It was to his influence that the innumerable English formal gardens in the Dutch style owed their origin, with their hedges and clipped trees, their ponds and miniature canals ; and wherever he resided for any length of time, as at Hampton Court, the Dutch fashions were sure to assert themselves.

The lower portion of the present north wing of the palace is a part of the original Nottingham House, but the rest of the building has been added from time to time by successive members of the royal family. Under William and Mary and Queen Anne, Sir Christopher Wren made large additions, the most notable of which was the orangery which he erected for Queen Anne, which Mr. Law describes as "one of the most beautiful examples of the art of the Renaissance in London, if not in England." It stands on a raised terrace or platform, with steps rising to it in front and at each end. The orangery itself is about 171 feet long, and 32 feet wide. The interior is panelled, and decorated with Corinthian columns and carved cornices ; and above the arches that lead at each end into the alcoves are festoons carved in wood by Grinling Gibbons, the greatest English master of this art. These have been repainted, after the paint and dirt accumulated in the course of years had been removed, as they were worm-eaten to such a point of fragility as to make that the only course that could be adopted for their preservation. The alcoves are circular, with saucer-domes, and contain a good deal of rich carving.

The eastern front of the palace was added by George I., from the designs of Kent ; the north-western angle by George II., who required a nursery for his children ; and the late Duke of Sussex, son of George III., added the rooms that occupy the south-west angle.

During William's reign the Court was usually held at

Kensington, and the Queen occupied herself to a great extent in superintending the alterations and decorations. Her life, however, after her accession, was of short duration, and in December, 1694, being seized with smallpox, she died there. William, not the most faithful of husbands, was nevertheless passionately attached to her, and mourned her sincerely. After his death, which also occurred at Kensington, there was found next his skin a small black silk ribbon case which contained a gold ring and a lock of his wife's hair.

A famous story is told of the attendance of Dr. Radcliffe, the celebrated physician, upon William. William was suffering from dropsy, and showing to the doctor his dilated ankles, asked him what he thought of his chances of recovery. "Why truly," replied Radcliffe, "I would not have your Majesty's two legs for your three kingdoms"—a jest which cost him his court appointment.

Sir N. W. Wraxall quotes a narrative of Lord Sackville's, the scene of which is Kensington Palace, which, giving a side of William's character not commonly presented, is worth quotation. Lord Sackville writes:—

"My father having lost his own mother when very young, was brought up chiefly by the Dowager Countess of Northampton, his grandmother, who being particularly acceptable to Queen Mary, she commanded the Countess always to bring her little grandson, Lord Buckhurst, to Kensington Palace, though at that time hardly four years of age; and he was allowed to amuse himself with a child's cart in the gallery. King William, like almost all Dutchmen, never failed to attend the tea-table every evening. It happened that her Majesty having one afternoon by his desire made tea, and, waiting for the King's arrival, who was engaged in business in his cabinet at the other extremity of the gallery, the boy, hearing the Queen express her impatience at the delay, ran away to the closet, dragging after him the cart. When he arrived at the door he knocked, and the King asked, 'Who is there?' 'Lord Buck,' answered he. 'And what does Lord Buck want with me?' replied his Majesty. 'You must come to tea directly,' said he; 'the Queen is waiting for you.' King William immediately laid down his pen, and opened the door; then taking the child in his arms, placed Lord Buckhurst in the cart, and, seizing the pole, drew them both along the gallery, quite to the room in which were seated the Queen, Lady Northampton, and the company. But no sooner had he entered the apartment than, exhausted with the effort,

which had forced the blood upon his lungs, and being naturally asthmatic, he threw himself into a chair, and for some minutes was incapable of uttering a word, breathing with the utmost difficulty. The Countess of Northampton, shocked at the consequences of her grandson's indiscretion, which threw the whole circle into great consternation, would have punished him; but the King interposed in his behalf; and the story is chiefly interesting because (as seeming to show how kindly he could behave to a troublesome child) it places that prince in a more amiable point of view than he is commonly represented in history."

Macaulay's vivid account of the last hours and death of King William at Kensington Palace is, of course, familiar to every reader.

Queen Anne and her consort, Prince George of Denmark, occupied Kensington Palace as continuously as William and Mary had done. But although her age has frequently been spoken of as the Augustan age of English literature, her court was not either brilliant or lively. Swift describes her, seated in the midst of about twenty visitors, holding her fan to her mouth, making a brief remark about once a minute to those placed nearest to her, and then withdrawing on the announcement of dinner.

Many of the incidents in the duel between the two favourites, Abigail Hill (Mrs. Masham) and Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough, took place at Kensington. Here the impetuous Duchess forced her way into the room where Prince George of Denmark lay dying, and, when he had breathed his last, conjured the Queen to leave "that dismal body." Here, in the dining-room called Queen Anne's, in 1710, took place the famous interview between the Duchess and the Queen, when, in reply to the former's repeated entreaties for a resumption of their former intimate relations, nothing could be extracted from the Queen but the cold, reiterated, "You desired no answer, and you shall have none." And here, in 1714, the Queen was seized with apoplexy, and died at the age of only fifty years. Scandal reports that her life was shortened by excessive and indiscriminate feeding,

Roger Coke reporting in particular that she "supped too much chocolate."

Whilst the Queen lay dying, and the Jacobite party, which she had certainly favoured during her reign, was in the throes of anxiety as to the succession, John Duke of Argyll, and the "proud" Duke of Somerset, who had not held office since the Act of Union with Scotland, presented themselves unexpectedly at the council, and, it is said, completely overthrew the designs entertained by Viscount Bolingbroke of recalling the exiled royal Stuarts.

With the accession of the House of Hanover, a new phase in the history of Kensington Palace began.

George I. made it his London residence, and, within seven years of entering on his occupancy, commissioned William Kent to add a large block of buildings to the palace.

With Wren, classical architecture in England was at its highest point; with Kent it had sunk to a debased semblance of the classic. At Kensington the additions of Kent contrast unhappily with the earlier work of Wren, whether internally or externally. Externally, the plainness that was simplicity in Wren, in Kent is ugliness. Internally, there is a loss both of the effects that Wren could produce by mere proportion, and of the chaste beauty of his decorations where he thought decorations desirable. The decorations of Kent are too often meretricious, ponderous, extravagant.

The principal rooms in Kent's part of the palace are Queen Caroline's Drawing-room; the Cupola, or Cube Room (in which the Princess Victoria was baptized), the King's Drawing-room; the King's Privy Chamber, and several of the apartments afterwards occupied by the Princess Victoria and her mother, the Duchess of Kent.

Some portions of the palace built by Wren were altered or redecorated by Kent; for instance, the King's Grand Staircase and the Presence Chamber.

George II. also occupied Kensington Palace a good deal, and it was his wife, Caroline of Anspach, who extended the

THE KING'S GALLERY
KENSINGTON PALACE



gardens, and, to a great extent, obliterated in them the traces of the Dutch influence. Horace Walpole records a curious incident at the palace during this reign. He writes, in 1742,—

“There has been a great fracas at Kensington. One of the mesdames (the princesses) pulled the chair from under Countess Deloraine at cards, who, being provoked that her monarch was diverted with her disgrace, with the malice of a hobby horse gave him just such another fall. But, alas! the monarch, like Louis XIV., is mortal in the part that touched the ground, and was so hurt and angry that the Countess is disgraced, and her German rival remains in the sole and quiet possession of her royal master’s favour.”

George II. died at Kensington, suddenly, and his grandson George III. chose other residences, so since George II. no sovereign has kept his court at Kensington.

George III.’s daughter, the Princess Sophia, resided there, however; and from 1810 to 1814 Caroline Princess of Wales, whose escapades whilst living at Kensington during her walks and excursions in the neighbourhood were, if perfectly innocent, entirely wanting in the dignity befitting her high station, and doubtless led, with other indiscretions, to the celebrated trial. She had, though, her warm partisans, and it was at Kensington that she received, in 1813, an address of sympathy from the citizens of London.

The next important royal resident was the Duke of Sussex, uncle of Queen Victoria, who not only had spacious apartments there during the greater part of his life, but was the builder of the last structural additions to the palace. He was a great book collector, and got together a magnificent library, the chief feature of which was an almost unique collection of Bibles. His wife, who, not being of royal blood, could not hold his title, was created Duchess of Inverness, and survived him thirty years, occupying her apartments in the palace all that time.

The circumstance which gives us the greatest interest in Kensington Palace, however, was that the Duke and Duchess of Kent, when it became evident that a child was about to be born to them, left Germany, where they had been

living, and, on their arrival in England, took up their residence at the palace. This was in 1819. The Duke of Kent was well aware that the child whose advent was expected would one day sit on the English throne, and expressed his wish that the future sovereign should be born on English soil. On May 24, 1819, the Duchess of Kent gave birth at the palace to a daughter.

In his "Memoirs," Baron Stockmar writes: "A pretty little Princess, plump as a partridge, was born. The Duke of Kent was delighted with his child, and liked to show her constantly to his companions and intimate friends, with the words, 'Take care of her, for she will be Queen of England.'" The Princess was baptized in the cupola room at Kensington Palace, on the 24th of June, in the royal gold font, which was brought from the Tower for the purpose, and received the names Alexandrina Victoria. The Hon. Amelia Murray, in her volume of "Recollections," states—

"It was believed that the Duke of Kent wished to name his child Elizabeth, that being a popular name with the English people. But the Prince Regent, who was not kind to his brothers, gave notice that he should stand in person as one godfather, and that the Emperor of Russia was to be another. At the baptism, when asked by the Archbishop of Canterbury to name the infant, the Prince Regent gave only the name of 'Alexandrina;' but the Duke requested that one other name might be added: 'Give her her mother's also, then; but,' he added, 'it cannot precede that of the Emperor.' The Queen, on her accession, commanded that she should be proclaimed as 'Victoria' only."

Of the Princess's infancy and childhood at Kensington numerous accounts are extant. Her mother, who was a widow when she married the Duke of Kent, had already a daughter, the Princess Feodore, and the half-sisters, despite the magnificent destiny of the younger, were brought up together. Leigh Hunt, in his "Old Court Suburb," mentions having seen the Princess Victoria "coming up a cross path from the Bayswater gate with a girl of her own age by her

side, whose hand she was holding as if she loved her." This, no doubt, was the Princess Feodore.

The author of an "Anecdotal Memoir of Her Majesty" describes a meeting in Kensington Gardens with a party of several ladies, and a young child, with two men-servants in charge of a donkey gaily caparisoned with blue ribbons, and accoutred for the use of the infant. It was the Duchess of Kent and her little daughters, with their retinue. The writer goes on to say, "On approaching the royal party the infant Princess, observing my respectful recognition, nodded, and wished me a 'Good morning' with much liveliness, as she skipped along between her mother and sister, the Princess Feodore, holding a hand of each." The same writer records that, at this early age, the Princess seemed to delight in accosting the persons casually met in her walks and rides in the gardens with "How do you do?" or "Good morning."

Charles Knight, in his "Passages of a Working Life," mentions having seen the Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria breakfasting in the open air outside the palace, and Sir Walter Scott, in his diary, after dining with the Duchess on May 19, 1828, writes, "I was very kindly received by Prince Leopold, and presented to the little Princess Victoria, the heir-apparent to the Crown as things stand. This little lady is educated with much care, and watched so closely that no busy maid has a moment to whisper, 'You are heir of England.'" Not long afterwards the Princess was made aware of her high calling, and in less than ten years her two uncles, George IV. and William IV., had both passed away, and the throne was the seat of the girl-princess.

The following account of Queen Victoria's accession, from "The Diary of a Lady of Quality," is familiar, but will bear repetition :—

"At Kensington Palace the Princess Victoria received the intelligence of the death of William IV., June, 1837. On the 20th, at 2 a.m., the scene closed, and in a very short time the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Conyngham, the Chamberlain, set out to announce the event to their

young sovereign. They reached Kensington Palace about five ; they knocked, they rang, they thumped, for a considerable time before they could rouse the porter at the gate ; they were again kept waiting in the court-yard ; they turned into one of the lower rooms, where they seemed forgotten by everybody. They rang the bell, desired that the attendant of the Princess Victoria might be sent to inform H.R.H. that they requested an audience on business of importance. After another delay, and again ringing to inquire the cause, the attendant was summoned, who stated that the *Princess* was in such a sweet sleep she could not venture to disturb her. Then they said, 'We are come to the *Queen* on business of state, and even her sleep must give way to that.' It did ; and, to prove that *she* did not keep them waiting, in a few minutes she came into the room in a loose white night-gown and shawl, her night-cap thrown off, and her hair falling upon her shoulders, her feet in slippers, tears in her eyes, but perfectly collected and dignified."

The scene has been the subject of paintings and engravings ; but the main feature of it, the combined dignity and modesty of the youthful sovereign, must always preserve the record of it from becoming hackneyed. At this supreme moment, her thought for others and forgetfulness of self are instanced by her refusal to endorse the letter of condolence to her aunt, Queen Adelaide, with the word "Dowager." When it was pointed out to her that she herself was now Her Majesty the Queen, she replied, "She may be the Queen Dowager now, but *I* will not be the first to remind her of it." An interesting account of Queen Victoria's first council, held the same day at Kensington Palace, is preserved in the "Greville Memoirs :"—

"1837, *June 21*.—The King died at twenty minutes after two yesterday morning, and the young Queen met the council at Kensington Palace at eleven. Never was anything like the first impression she produced, or the chorus of praise and admiration which is raised about her manner and behaviour, and certainly not without justice. It was very extraordinary, and far beyond what was looked for. Her extreme youth and inexperience, and the ignorance of the world concerning her, naturally excited intense curiosity to see how she would act on this trying occasion, and there was a considerable assemblage at the palace, notwithstanding the short notice that was given. The first thing that was to be done was to teach her her lesson, which, for this purpose, Melbourne had himself to learn. I gave him the council papers, and explained all that was to be done,

and he went and explained all this to her. He asked her if she would enter the room accompanied by the great officers of State, but she said she would come in alone. When the lords were assembled, the Lord President informed them of the King's death, and suggested, as they were so numerous, that a few of them should repair to the presence of the Queen, and inform her of the event, and that their lordships were assembled in consequence; and, accordingly, the two royal Dukes, the two Archbishops, the Chancellor, and Melbourne, went with him. The Queen received them in the adjoining room alone. As soon as they had returned, the proclamation was read, and the usual order passed, when the doors were thrown open, and the Queen entered, accompanied by her two uncles, who advanced to meet her. She bowed to the lords, took her seat, and then read her speech in a clear, distinct, and audible voice, and without any appearance of fear or embarrassment. She was quite plainly dressed, and in mourning. After she had read her speech and taken and signed the oath for the security of the Church of Scotland, the Privy Councillors were sworn, the two royal Dukes first by themselves; and as these two old men, her uncles, knelt before her, swearing allegiance and kissing her hand, I saw her blush up to her eyes as if she felt the contrast between their several and natural relations, and this was the only sign of emotion she evinced. Her manner to them both was very graceful and engaging. She kissed them both, and moved towards the Duke of Sussex, who was furthest from her seat and too infirm to reach her. She seemed rather bewildered at the multitude of men who were sworn, and who came one after another to kiss her hand; but she did not speak to anybody, nor did she make the slightest difference in her manner, or show any in her countenance to any individual of any rank, station, or party. I particularly watched her when Melbourne and her ministers, and the Duke of Wellington and Peel approached her. She went through the whole ceremony, occasionally looking at Melbourne for instructions when she had any doubt what to do, and with perfect calmness and self-possession, but, at the same time, with a modesty and propriety particularly interesting and ingratiating. When the business was done she retired as she had entered, and I could see that no one was in the adjoining room."

The picture of this scene, painted by Sir David Wilkie, has falsified history for the sake of pictorial effect. All authorities agree with Greville that the Queen was in mourning, but Wilkie has painted her in white.

Next day, June 21, at ten o'clock, her Majesty was proclaimed Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and on the 13th of July following, with her mother, the Duchess of Kent, she took leave of her birthplace, never to return as resident. From this date onward Kensington Palace was less and less

important in the public view, and parts of it fell into the most sorry state of disrepair. Suites of apartments were allotted at different times to Princess Mary of Cambridge (Duchess of Teck) and her husband, and to Princess Louise (Marchioness of Lorne) and her husband; and here, on May 26, 1867, the Duchess of Teck gave birth to a daughter, Princess Victoria Mary, familiarly known to the public, who have seized on her pet name to show their affection for her, as Princess May, Duchess of Cornwall and York.

In January, 1878, Queen Victoria gave directions for repairs and restorations in the State rooms, and, as soon as these were effected, that part of the palace was thrown open to the public.

A large number of pictures were removed to Kensington from Hampton Court, where the quantity accumulated had made it difficult to display them to advantage. These hang in the various galleries and saloons, and include a fine collection of portraits, Kneller, perhaps, predominating, although there are some fine Gainsboroughs and Hoppners. A group of paintings of Old London, in the chamber called the Queen's Closet, is particularly interesting; and two paintings by Marcellus Laroon, in Queen Mary's privy chamber, "Frederick Prince of Wales at a Party," and "A Royal Assembly at Kew," have the same interest that attaches to the painting, at Hampton Court, of "Charles I. and his Queen dining in Public," by Van Bassen. In the rooms known as the Nursery and Bed-rooms of Queen Victoria, are arranged a series of prints, illustrating important events in her Majesty's life; and these rooms also contain, perhaps, the most interesting relics existent of a royal childhood. They are the dolls' house and numerous other toys with which the little Princess Victoria passed happy hours in Kensington Palace, before even the shadow of the burden of empire had fallen upon her shoulder.

Of the other rooms accessible to the public not previously mentioned, the most important is "the King's Gallery," a

splendid apartment 96 feet long, 21 feet 6 inches wide, 18 feet high to the cornice, 19 feet 8 inches to the ceiling. The oak cornice, doors, and architraves are as Wren left them. The oak panelling was removed in George I. or George II.'s reign, and the ceiling painted, at the same time, by Kent.

Over the chimney-piece in this room is a curious map of North-west Europe, surrounded by the points of the compass, and a dial hand, which was formerly moved by an iron rod connected with a vane on the roof, thus enabling the asthmatical William III. to know which way the wind was blowing while still at the fireside, and decide whether it was safe for him to venture out of doors. Peter the Great, during his London visit, is said to have been more fascinated by this contrivance than by anything else he saw at the palace, although he is reported, in his usual surreptitious fashion, to have inspected the brilliant company at a birthday party of the Princess Anne's from a secret closet, purposely constructed for him. The grand staircase, also of Wren's design, has its walls covered with paintings by Kent, representing a gallery from which personages of George I.'s court survey the coming and the parting guest. Amongst the people on whom this conditional immortality was thrust are "Mr. Ulric, a page of the King's, admired by the court for the elegance and beauty of his person;" a page of Lady Suffolk's; a Quaker; Mahomet and Mustapha, two Turkish prisoners, who became George I.'s servants, and were said to have saved his life when he was wounded at the siege of Vienna; a Highlander; and "Peter, the Wild Boy," who was caught in the woods near Hanover.

Kensington Gardens were first opened to the public by the Consort of George II., on Saturdays, and visitors wore full dress. Not until the reign of George III. were they opened daily. They are so secluded as to bear a country aspect, and delude one into the belief that the town is far distant. Haydon, the painter, wrote, "Here, in Kensington, are some of the most poetical bits of trees and stump, and sunny brown and green glens and tawny earth." Matthew

Arnold's "Lines written in Kensington Gardens" call up the same thought of restfulness and remoteness from the crowded streets.

"In this lone open glade I lie,
Screened by deep boughs on either hand ;
And at its end, to stay the eye,
Those black-crowned, red-boled pine-trees stand."



KEW PALACE

WHEN or how Kew came by its strange name it has never been ascertained, but the fact that it is known that the present spelling and pronunciation are corruptions of other forms adds interest to the inquiry. The earliest records in which the place is mentioned show the spelling Kayhough, and it is subsequently to be traced as Kaiho and Kayo. Dr. Garnett, in his monograph upon Richmond, devotes a few pages to Kew, which is now a part of the borough of Richmond, and throws out the suggestion that the last syllable had an affinity with Hoe—as, for instance, in Plymouth Hoe,—signifying a level place by the waterside; and further conjectures that Kay may have been the name of some ancient owner of the place—"King Arthur's Seneschal, if the reader pleases."

Its nearness to Richmond, itself the site of a palace, would naturally tend towards its being chosen as a place of residence by those attached to the court. The Earl of Worcester, Lord High Chamberlain to King Henry VIII., had a house there; and, in a Latin poem by Leland, mention is made of a villa at Cheva, built by a steward of the Duke of Suffolk, husband of the King's sister, the Dowager Queen of France, who lived at Suffolk Place, hard by.

Sir John Pickering, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, resided at Kew in 1595, and Queen Elizabeth honoured him

with her presence at dinner there. According to the fashion of the time—a fashion which, one hears, is still maintained amongst the *haute richesse* of our own day—the royal visitor discovered in the fans and nosegays, which she graced her host by accepting, gifts of far higher value, in the shape of precious stones; and we are further told that the Queen, “to grace his Lordship the more, of herself took from him a salt, a spoon, and a fork of fair agate.” If, in Spanish fashion, the Lord Keeper had placed all his belongings at the disposal of the virgin Queen, it yet seems to have been a trifle rapacious of her to have annexed table furniture in such a fashion. But Elizabeth, like her father, was given, as Hatton Garden witnesses to this day, to appropriating, not merely portable property, but estates, so perhaps Sir John thanked his stars that she did not conceive a desire for a residence at Kew.

As it happened, Kew did not become a royal residence till the time of Frederick Prince of Wales, who, in 1730, took a lease of property in Kew, which had long been in the possession of the Capel family. This property included the White House, or, as it was afterwards called, Kew House.

The White House had been the property of Richard Bennett, Esq., son of Sir Thomas Bennett, Lord Mayor of London in 1603, and from him had descended to the Capels. Lady Capel, wife of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1692–6, died here in 1721, and was buried in Kew Church.

The Prince of Wales made many additions and improvements to the house, originally a long low building in the Italian style of architecture. His was not, however, a long life. His widow continued to reside at Kew, and in 1759 established there a physic-garden (or botanical garden), the forerunner of the present world-famous Royal Gardens of Kew. In 1761 Sir William Chambers built for the Princess of Wales what was, at that time, the largest greenhouse in the country—one hundred and fourteen feet long. Chambers published a book of plans and elevations of “the Princess of Wales’s House at Kew.”

The Earl of Bute, a great favourite of the Princess, was devoted to botany, and seconded all her plans, collecting rare and curious plants from all parts of the globe. The once flat and bare ground was broken up by artificial means and the introduction of quantities of wood, until, as Sir William Chambers puts it, "what was once a desert is now an Eden."

The importance of the gardens thus founded was maintained through a long series of years, until, in 1840, principally owing to the action of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, the gardens were transferred to the Department of Woods and Forests, and have ever since been, to all intents and purposes, the property of, and accessible to, the public.

The Princess, who may be styled the founder of the gardens, died in 1772, and her son, King George III., bought the Kew estates, and made Kew his home frequently. Here he and his Queen could divest themselves of their royal character, in so far as such an act is possible to king and queen. The King could live for a time the life of the country gentleman he would have liked to be—a desire that earned him the nickname of Farmer George; and the Queen, like any farmer's wife, could prepare him his breakfast, in a cottage in the grounds, with her own hands, whilst the boys and girls played at housekeeping and tended their own garden plots.

George III., however, was dissatisfied with Kew House, and demolished it, erecting in its place, on the riverside opposite Brentford, a huge pseudo-Gothic building of castellated appearance, which Sir Richard Phillips alludes to—struck, doubtless, by its gloomy aspect—as a bastille. The new palace was never really completed, and never occupied, and George IV. had it pulled down in 1828.

Whilst the "Bastille" was in course of erection, the royal family, when at Kew, resided in the house still bearing the name of Kew Palace.

This house was more commonly known as the Dutch House. For this misnomer no adequate explanation is

forthcoming, as the house, a red-brick building, is Jacobean in character. It is massive, square, and plain, but the mouldings formed by the courses of the brickwork prevent the façade from being uninteresting.

It has been stated that its erection was due to Sir Hugh Portman, whose descendant, Sir John Portman, is said to have sold it, in 1636, to Samuel Fortrey, Esq.; from whom again, in 1697, it passed to Sir Richard Levett. As, however, there exists over the main doorway an inscription consisting of the initials F. S. C. and the date 1631, it seems questionable whether the original owner was not one of the Capels.

It is, at times, difficult to decide, when reading of events at Kew Palace, whether the existing building is intended or the Princess of Wales's house, before referred to.

Miss Burney, for instance, speaks of the rooms in the palace as "small, dark, and old-fashioned. . . . There are staircases in every passage, and passages in every closet." This description surely cannot apply to the "Dutch House;" for if some of the rooms are small when regarded as chambers in a palace, none of them can be thought dark. On every side of the house are windows in plenty, and not small windows. The rooms on the ground and first floor are lofty, and, for the most part, spacious; and the building is not so lavishly supplied with passages and staircases as to elicit a grumble. It seems almost certain that Miss Burney speaks of the "White House," which was a winged building, covering a great deal more ground than the "Dutch House." There would be more available room for passages and stairs in it, and, as its main floors were not lofty, the rooms would be more open to the charge of darkness, probably also of smallness.

That the Dutch House was occupied by Frederick Prince of Wales at one time is, however, fairly certain; for the old brass box locks on the doors of the principal rooms are engraved in each corner with the Prince of Wales's "Feathers," and the initials F. P. So there still remains to



us something reminiscent of that opposition Court, between which and the Court of his father, King George II., so much bitterness existed.

Mr. Chancellor, in his "History of Richmond, Kew, etc.," mentions a pages' closet, in which there is still affixed a manuscript list of the bells and the rooms they rang from. He also alludes to a powdering closet, with the sliding window to admit the coiffure, still *in situ*. The vastness of the crypts or vaults beneath the house has been made the foundation for a theory that an older and more massive structure on the same site preceded the present palace. It seems probable, however, that a building erected in 1631, on a site so marshy and so close to the river, would be provided with very ponderous foundations.

The house is panelled in oak, almost everywhere that panelling could be placed; but the oak has been so many times coated with white paint that the sharpness of all the mouldings has disappeared, and the wood is only discernible here and there, where some misadventure has chipped off a piece of the shell-like paint-coat, and left the wood bare. The deep seats in the window-recesses show the great thickness of the walls.

The rooms to which the public are admitted are—

The Ante-room to the Library—a small room on the left of the main entrance.

The King's Dining-room on the right—a fine room with a flagged floor and five windows. The ceiling is of plain plaster, except at the centre, where the hook for the candlelabrum still depends. Around this is modelled, in low relief, an immense conventional rose, with open petals—the most beautiful thing of the kind conceivable. A door leads from this room to the King's Breakfast-room behind. Above the fireplace is a needlework portrait of large dimensions, perhaps six feet by five. It is unnamed, but most likely represents George III. or his father.

The Queen's Ante-Chamber and Bedroom are on the

first floor. In these rooms are preserved a few pieces of antique furniture, couches, small tables—one with playing-cards worked in wool upon it,—chairs, fire-screens, a telescopic candlestand, and so on; while on the walls are a few curiosities in the way of pictures—some very wooden water-colours of birds in lacquer frames, some ingenious costume-figures contrived in silk patches, a group of flowers embroidered in silk, and other quaintnesses. Over the fireplace in the bedroom is a brass plate, bearing this inscription:—

“ This tablet is placed here by command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, in memory of her grandmother, Her Majesty Queen Charlotte, Consort of His Majesty King George III.”

Queen Charlotte died here on the 17th of November, 1818.

The Queen's Boudoir, on the same floor, has a handsome plaster ceiling, divided into lozenges by intersecting mouldings, and containing, in the centre and in the four angles, classical figures in low relief. There is on the wall here an oil painting, a “Triumph of Flora,” by S. Ricci [1659-1734].

The Queen's Drawing-room, in front of the Boudoir, has a modelled plaster frieze above the panelling, and the superstructure of the fireplace is supported by marble columns, and inlaid with panels of marble.

Almost every room contains several oil paintings of flowers, fruit, and birds, and similar subjects, mostly by Campidoglio, and, for the most part, of no interest. One cannot but regret that so fine a relic of times past as the palace should not display a collection of portraits of the great personages associated with its history and the history of the neighbouring palace of Richmond. A collection of ancient views of the locality, too, would be well placed on its walls; and of paintings at present located in other royal palaces, two certainly ought to find their way to Kew—those at Kensington Palace, by Marcellus Laroon, Nos. 53 and 54, in

Queen Mary's Privy Chamber, entitled, "Frederick Prince of Wales at a Party," and "A Royal Assembly at Kew."

It is from Miss Burney's "Diary" that we get the most vivid picture of life at Kew whilst it was still a royal abode.

The entries referring to Kew, after it had been decided to remove the mentally afflicted King George III. there, are very numerous.

She commences with an account of how he was beguiled into removing to Kew, from which place he had conceived an aversion, not at all remarkable, when one considers that the surroundings must inevitably have reminded him continuously of the many happy sojourns there in his earlier days. For, though stricken in mind, he was sensible of his condition at times.

The Queen was smuggled away from Windsor, about ten o'clock at night, on the 29th of November, 1788, in a close carriage, with two of her daughters, and Lady Courtown as lady-in-waiting. It was known that, if the King were told, after their departure, that they were at Kew, and that, if he would go there, he would see them again, there would be some probability of persuading him to make the journey. On her own arrival at Kew, Miss Burney found that the Prince of Wales had ridden over to the palace, and regulated the whole house according to his own ideas, arranging who was to be the occupant of each apartment, and writing the names in chalk on the doors. It was dark the following evening before the King arrived, such difficulties had the medical attendants encountered in persuading him to accompany them.

The whole of the garden front of the ground floor was appropriated to his use; and the rooms immediately above were all locked, so that he might not be disturbed by the sound of footsteps overhead.

Miss Burney describes the house as being very inadequately furnished, lacking carpets and curtains, though these were gradually supplied; and so cold and draughty

that quantities of sandbags were requisitioned to prevent the ill-fitting doors and windows from rendering the place quite uninhabitable.

The accounts of the variation of the King's condition from day to day fill many pages, but are not, at this date, of sufficient interest to transcribe at any length.

Under December 11th comes the entry—

“To-day we have had the fairest hopes; the King took his first walk in Kew Garden. . . . The walk seemed to do him good, and we are all in better spirits about him than for this many and many a long day past.”

In January, 1789, Miss Burney records the receipt at Kew of what she terms “a singular present.” It was an almanac in German, the gift of one of the King's household in Hanover, a M. Henouvre. The singularity consisted in its containing an abridgment of her own novel, “Cecilia,” translated into German. She remarks, “I wish I could read it—but I have only written it!”

Mrs. Schwellenberg, who controlled the household, was a tyrannical martinet, and gave all the attendants beneath her, including Miss Burney herself, a fairly lively time. Learning that Fanny, when waiting to receive the daily report of the King's physician to carry to the Queen, was in the habit of using her parlour for the purpose, Mrs. Schwellenberg locked the door, and commanded her to wait in the passage, declaring that if every one who chose to do so were to make use of her parlour, she might just as well keep an inn. Her half-German English, with its quaint pronunciation and tendency to double negatives, is very amusingly reproduced by Miss Burney.

On January 27th, Fanny notes, “Ten minutes in Kew Gardens [at a time, presumably] are all I have spent without doors since the middle of that month” (October); so she was not permitted to be a gad-about attendant. But she had a certain amount of fun in exciting Mrs. Schwellenberg's

indignation at her pretence of knowing more of a certain Mr. Fairly who paid her civil attentions than Mrs. Schwollenberg could quite account for. *She* had known him for long, whereas Fanny had only been in the household a couple of years or so. But Mrs. Schwollenberg was quite ignorant of numerous surreptitious meetings, when Fanny contrived to gather some news of the outside world from Mr. Fairly, as well as to enjoy in secret the knowledge that she was doing what would exasperate the domineering Schwollenberg, did she only know!

The most dramatic incident Miss Burney recounts is her meeting with the insane King in Kew Gardens. She had been minutely instructed how to comport herself should she ever meet him. The main thing was that she was to disappear as rapidly as possible without speaking. The King, however, recognizing her, and recollecting some of his past pleasant conversations with Fanny, called after her, and the more she ran to escape him the more hotly he pursued. Then she heard the doctor saying she must stop. "I cannot," she replies. "But I say you must, for it makes the King ill to run." So she faced round and met her King, who did nothing whatever to frighten her, but simply placed his hands on her shoulders and kissed her on the cheeks, after which he had a long talk with her, upon all sorts of subjects, in a perfectly collected manner.

On February 16th, Miss Burney records that the King and Queen went for a "walk in Richmond Gardens arm in arm! What a delight to all the house!"

On Saturday, March 14th, the Court returned to Windsor.

After George III.'s time no English sovereign has resided at Kew; but his son, the King of Hanover, for a long while made use of a house now known as the Herbarium; and his son, the Duke of Cambridge, occupied Cambridge Cottage, opposite the church. To this day the connection of the royal family with Kew is maintained, for

Lambarde quotes Matthew of Westminster as follows :
"And the aforesaid Scots entered into the engagement, touching the sacred body and gospels of Christ and other relics, at the Manor of Shene on the Thames."

Edward II. was here from time to time, and his grant to the Percys of the Barony of Alnwick was dated from Shene, in 1310.

Edward III. had a great partiality to the palace, and kept up a lavish establishment. It was here, on June 21, 1377, that his death took place, a few days after he had received at the palace the commissioners from Calais who came to treat for peace between France and England. The number of persons attached to the King's household at this time *to whom wages were paid* is stated to have been 769.

Richard II. used the palace as a summer residence, and made great alterations and additions to it. His clerk of the works was Geoffrey Chaucer, who was probably at that time regarded as an important person from his official position, rather than on account of his writings.

Richard's household was on even a more extended scale than that of his grandfather. He is said to have had three hundred servants, and the Queen another three hundred, and to have entertained daily one thousand persons.

Richard's Queen, Anne of Bohemia, a woman greatly beloved by the people as well as by her husband, was taken ill at Shene in 1394, and, after a short illness, died there on June 7th. Stow says—

"The King took her death so heavily that, besides cursing the place where she died, he did also for anger throwe down the buildings unto which the former kings, being wearied of the Citie, were wont for pleasure to resort."

Whether any part of Richard's palace was destroyed is doubtful. It was probably neglected, and allowed to get into a ruinous condition, but Froissart mentions the King's presence there on several occasions after the Queen's death.

However it was treated, Henry V., the next monarch to reside at Shene, had it repaired or rebuilt, and his improvements were so notable, that a Latin Chronicle, edited by the English Historical Society, says, "*Proposuit melius sump-tuosius et longe magnificentius quam in statum pristinum revocare.*"

It was Henry V. who, to atone for his father's usurpation, founded the two great religious establishments in the neighbourhood of Shene Palace, the one the Bridgetine convent of Syon in the meadows facing the palace on the opposite side of the river (this being afterwards removed to Isleworth), the other a Carthusian house known as "the House of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen."

Henry VI. and his Queen Margaret of Anjou spent a good deal of time here, and the King was frequently at Shene when his Queen was travelling about the country, in her valiant attempts to retain for her husband what he was powerless to defend himself.

Edward IV. kept his court for a while at Shene, and in the sixth year of his reign granted it for life to his Queen, Elizabeth Woodville; from which time after, she made it her principal residence.

In 1472, the King and Queen with the Duke of Gloucester visited Shene Priory, "to obtain 500 days of pardon, this grace having been offered to all persons who had contributed to the repairs of the building."

This is the only mention we get of Richard III., who, like Henry IV., never seems to have made Shene his residence.

With Henry VII., however, it became a favourite abode, and he in his turn added to and improved it greatly. Several letters of the King's to members of the Paston family are dated from Shene. On the occasion of the insurrection of Lambert Simnel, the young Earl of Warwick, who was suspected of complicity, was brought there for examination. Bacon, in his life of Henry VII., records that on the outbreak of this rebellion, "the King first called his council

together at the Charterhouse at Shene,"—a circumstance which seems to imply that the Carthusians had in their priory ampler accommodation than the King in his palace. For despite the successive additions, which must have resulted in the collection of groups of building covering a large area, it is probable that up to this time there was nothing palatial about the manor-house of Shene. More likely is it that it resembled an ordinary country manor-house with vast outbuildings.

Stow gives an account of a grand tournament held here by Henry, in May, 1492, when Sir James Parker, knight, and Hugh Vaughan engaged in combat, the former denying the right of the latter to bear certain arms assigned him by the Garter king, which presumably Parker considered too likely to be mistaken for his own. Sir James Parker was "slayne at the first course . . . stricken into the mouth that his tongue was borne unto the hinder part of the head, and so he died incontinently"—a more speedy method, certainly, of settling a dispute than process in the courts of law.

In 1497, on the 21st December, whilst the King was in residence at the palace, a disastrous fire broke out, which almost entirely destroyed the place, and the King immediately set about the erection of new buildings. Henry's character was penurious, but in this instance, as in that of his magnificent chapel at Westminster, cost can hardly have been taken into account. A new pile, which must have exceeded in grandeur the burnt palace as far as the sun exceeds the moon in light, rose up on the site of the ruins. This building is familiar to the antiquary from the numerous drawings and paintings of it which still exist. Of the views by Hollar, Wyngarde and Vinckenboom, that of Hollar probably gives the most vivid presentment of the river frontage. The painting, formerly in the possession of Viscount Fitzwilliam, shows the frontage to Richmond Green before the palace began to be ruinous. The view by Buck shows a trifle more of the building than the fragment that still

exists west of the Green. Overton's plan of Richmond town, made about 1710, gives some notion of the ground plan of the buildings, although a number of them had by that time made way for structures of the Queen Anne type.

By 1501 the buildings were completed. They must have resembled in a marked degree the Tudor portion of Hampton Court,—red brick walls with a lattice work of black bricks inset, stone windows and doors and battlements, clustered chimneys, several quadrangles and turreted gateways. The turrets were surmounted by cupolas and vanes, giving a somewhat oriental aspect to the building.

A description of the palace at this time, from a manuscript written in 1503, printed in Grose and Astell's "Antiquarian Repertory," is of extreme interest. The great hall had portraits of the sovereigns of England, including Henry himself, between the windows. The Chapel was hung with arras and cloth of gold; its altar encrusted with gold and jewels; its walls painted with effigies of royal saints.

Henry VII. established a library in the palace, and some items from his privy purse expenses show that he could be lavish in directions where his tastes demanded expenditure. He pays—

					£	s.	d.
To a Frenshman for certain bokes	...	...	...	...	56	4	0
To a Frenshman for printed bokes	...	...	...	...	10	5	0
To Master Peter for certain bokes upon a Bille	...	...	...	...	11	3	4
To Anthony Verard for two bokes called "The Gardyn of Helthe"	...	...	...	...	6	0	0

And again :—

Delivered to Quentin [Quentin Paulet, his librarian] for bokes	...	20	0	0
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The miscellaneous extracts from the expense books of Henry and his Queen, printed by Mr. Chancellor, are of the highest interest. There are numerous disbursements to explorers, and to those who brought rarities to the King,

in his book: and to the bringers of delicacies for the table or gay apparel in that of the Queen: but all showing a spirit quite contrary to that penuriousness which has been so closely associated with the name of the seventh Henry. For instance, from the King's expense-book:—

	£	s.	d.
To Clays, going to Richmond with wild cats and poppinjays of the new-found island and his costs	0	13	4
To a Portuguese that brought poppinjays and cats of the mountain with other stuff to the King's grace	5	0	0
To a priest that goeth to the new island	2	0	0
To one that brought hawks from the new-found island	1	0	0
To one that brought the King a leopard	13	6	8
To the merchants of Bristol that have been in the new-found island	20	0	0
To the men of Bristol that found the isle	5	0	0

And from the Queen's expense-book:—

Delivered to John Goose, my Lord of York's fool, in reward for bringing a carp	0	1	0
Delivered to a servant of the Prothonotary of Spain a reward for bringing a present of oranges to the Queen at Richmond	[no payment entered]		
To a poor man that brought a present of oranges and apples to the Queen at Richmond	0	1	0
To William Paston, page of the Queen's beds, in reward towards the buying of his wedding clothes	2	0	0
To a servant of the Abbess of Syon, in reward for bringing a present of rabbits and quails to the Queen to Richmond	0	2	0
To a servant of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in reward for bringing a present of a Lanthony cheese to the Queen, at Richmond	0	2	0
To a servant of the Prior of Lanthony, in reward for bringing a present of cheeses to the Queen	0	5	0
To a poor woman who brought a present of apples from Hounslow to the Queen at Richmond	0	1	8
To a servant of the Abbott of Osbourne, for bringing a present of Woodcocks to the Queen, at Richmond	0	3	4

It would almost seem that the Queen had acquired a reputation for being generous to those who ministered to her taste for dainty cates; for, of course, the sums entered in her



expense-book must be multiplied at least by ten to arrive at anything like the equivalent in the coinage of our own day.

The contract of marriage between Arthur Prince of Wales and Katherine, Princess of Aragon, was signed at Richmond, although the marriage was celebrated at St. Paul's. But the Prince died of the plague within six months, and the widowed Princess took up her abode at Richmond, until her marriage with her deceased husband's brother Henry. The treaty for her marriage with Henry was signed at Richmond, the same year that Prince Arthur died (1501).

The treaty for the marriage of Henry VII.'s eldest daughter Margaret with James IV., King of Scotland, was signed at Richmond in 1502; and, in the same year, Philip I., King of Spain, having been driven on to the coast of England by storms, was entertained at the palace with great magnificence.

The palace again suffered severely by fire in 1506, and in 1509 Henry VII. died there.

His will, dated at Richmond, provided for his burial at Westminster, in the new chapel he had built adjoining the Abbey, and ordered the completion of it with funds he had provided for the purpose. The Prior of the Charter House at Shene gets 500 marks for the use of the brotherhood.

Henry VIII. made Richmond Palace a frequent place of resort, and he kept the first Christmas after his accession here, appearing in a tournament held in the palace gardens. He disguised himself, but after two or three courses was recognized by the spectators. To appear incognito was a favourite amusement of this monarch.

On New Year's Day, 1511, Queen Katherine gave birth, at Richmond Palace, to a son, who was baptized Henry, his godfathers being the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Surrey, and his Godmother the Countess of Devonshire. On the life of this infant hung the religious destinies

of the country. Had he survived, it is practically certain that the divorce proceedings between Henry and Katherine, which were the real cause of Henry's espousing the anti-papal principles of the Lutheran reformers, would never have been heard of. But he died in less than two months, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, and with his death the mortal blow was given to the Papal supremacy in England.

In 1523 the Emperor Charles, who came attended by 208 noblemen and gentlemen, 100 officers of the household, and 1710 servants, with a proportionate number of horses, etc., arrived at Richmond, on a visit to the King; and the immense following of the Emperor occasioned Henry so much inconvenience, that many of the foreigners had to be accommodated by the English nobles.

Shortly afterwards, Wolsey's occupancy of the palace began.

Stow writes:—

"At this time the saide Cardinall gave to the King the lease of the Mannor of Hampton Court which he had of the lease of the Lord of St. John's, and on which he had done great cost in building: in recompense whereof, the King licensed him to lie in his Mannor at Richmond at his pleasure, and so he lay there at certain times."

It was in consequence of this license that the inhabitants of Richmond, displeased at the presence in their midst of a self-made statesman in the place of their King, flung out the taunt, in allusion to the reported humble origin of Wolsey, "Soe a butcher's dogge dothe lie in the Mannor of Richmond."

On the occasion of Wolsey's last visit to Richmond, however, he was not permitted to occupy the palace, but relegated to a house called "the Lodge," in what is now known as "the Old Deer Park."

Anne Boleyn was at Richmond in May, 1535, and her successor, Jane Seymour, spent the Christmas after her marriage at the palace.

Anne of Cleves was lodged there while the divorce proceedings between her and Henry were pending, and, after the divorce, his Majesty's Royal Sister, as the deposed Queen was licensed to style herself, had a grant of the palace for her life.

Edward VI. greatly desired to make Richmond his home, preferring it to Windsor, of which he said, "Methinks I am in prison; here be no galleries, nor no gardens to walk in." But his preference was overruled by his physician, and Hampton Court made his headquarters. Only two letters of Edward's dated from Richmond are known to exist.

Queen Mary was at the palace shortly after her accession, and wrote to the Chancellors of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge from here, about the maintenance of their ancient statutes. Three weeks of her honeymoon with Philip of Spain were spent at Richmond; and, according to Stow, the Princess Elizabeth was brought here in a barge from the Tower, on the way to her imprisonment at Woodstock. After the reconciliation of the sisters, when Elizabeth had entertained Mary at Hatfield, Mary in return gave a splendid open-air fête to Elizabeth at Richmond, of which Miss Strickland gives a detailed account.

Mary was here shortly before her death, which occurred at St. James's in 1558.

Elizabeth frequently kept her court at Richmond, and the history of her time is full of references to occurrences at the palace. In the correspondence of the Spanish ambassador, and other foreign envoys, there is frequent mention of audiences at Richmond; and here, in 1581, she received the French embassy to discuss her proposed marriage with the Duke of Anjou. Eric IV., King of Sweden, was also her guest here. Here, also, came the commissioners to plead for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and here the death warrant was signed by Elizabeth. Here, too, the Queen was residing, when the Invincible Armada was on its way to our shores.

From Richmond she rode to Mortlake on several occasions, to consult the celebrated wizard, Dr. Dee; and to Richmond she came from time to time to recuperate when she found herself in ill-health at other places.

Finally, to quote Stow, "Thursday, XXIIII of March, about two of the clock in the morning, deceased Queen Elizabeth, at her Manor of Richmond, in Surrey."

Tradition asserts that the room in which her death occurred is the one still existing above the archway facing the green; but it is a strangely cramped room for a queen's bedchamber.

From Richmond her funeral procession started for Westminster Abbey, by water,—the last great pageant connected with Richmond Palace.

James I. made Windsor his headquarters, and Richmond became the residence of his son, Prince Henry, whose early death is attributed to his imprudently bathing in the river at Richmond, after supper. Prince Henry was a man of artistic tastes, and accumulated at Richmond a fine collection of pictures, but after his death these were dispersed amongst the other royal palaces.

The palace remained unoccupied for about three years after Prince Henry's death, and then Prince Charles took up his abode there, and, like his brother, made the collection of pictures his principal hobby. But after his accession to the throne he seldom made use of the palace.

By order of the parliament, in 1641, the heir to the throne, Prince Charles, was sent to the palace to be under the instruction of his tutor, Bishop Duppa, whose charitable bequests to the parish still keep his memory green in the town.

On the death of the King, in 1649, the parliament ordered the pictures which Charles had collected at Richmond to be sold, with the exception of those which were considered superstitious; those were to be destroyed.

A survey taken at this date gives a good idea of the extent of the palace.

The great hall was a hundred feet long and forty wide, with a screen at the lower end. The chapel had a length of ninety-six feet and a width of forty. There was a round tower, styled the Canted Tower, which had a hundred and twenty-four steps in its staircase, and an open gallery, two hundred feet long, adjoining the Prince's garden. No wonder the little King Edward had found it pleasant. The total area covered by the palace buildings was about ten acres.

In 1650 the parliament sold the palace, and it became the joint property of Thomas Rookesby, William Goodwin, and Adam Baynes. From them, for the price of £10,000, it passed to Sir Gregory Norton, one of the regicides, who, on the restoration of King Charles II., though he escaped capital punishment, was forced to surrender the palace to the Crown.

Charles II. assigned it for a residence to his mother, Queen Henrietta Maria, but she left it in 1665, and, some little time later, transferred her interest in it to Sir Edward Villiers, by whom it was reassigned to King James II.

James's children were, whilst he was still Duke of York, placed here under the charge of Lady Frances Villiers, their governess, and after James's accession he is said to have executed some slight repairs. Jesse states that leaden pipes with the initials of the Prince, afterwards known as the Pretender, who, according to Burnet, was nursed here, were formerly to be seen at Richmond.

From the time of James II. onwards the royal connection with the old palace was slight.

William III. occasionally visited it when hunting, and Queen Anne had a desire to occupy it, but the daughter of Lady Villiers, who still held the lease, refused to surrender it, and Anne's project was abandoned.

The house known as "the Trumpeting House," which occupies a considerable portion of the old river front of the palace, was erected by a Mr. Hill, brother of Abigail Hill,

afterwards Mrs. Masham, a favourite attendant of Queen Anne.

The Kings and Queens of the House of Hanover, who resided at Richmond, occupied a mansion in the Old Deer Park, known at different times as the Lodge, Ormond House, and Richmond House.

The portion of the palace which still remains consists of one of the old archways, bearing on it the arms of Henry VII. carved in stone, with, above it, the chamber known as Queen Elizabeth's, together with a number of rooms on the left side of the gateway, forming a residence now in the occupation of D. H. Scott, Esq., by whose courtesy the writer was permitted access to the interior. The insertion of eighteenth-century windows has robbed the apartments of much of their air of antiquity. A vaulted passage from the entrance hall, the handsome main staircase, and the room over the archway are the principal points of interest. The adjoining portion, facing the courtyard, is a separate residence, and is apparently the part referred to in a letter of Disraeli's, quoted by Dr. Garnett :—

"May 2, 1849.

"I have been to see Metternich. He lives on Richmond Green, in the most charming house in the world, called the Old Palace—long library, gardens, everything worthy of him. I met there the Duchess of Cambridge and the Colloredos. I am enchanted with Richmond Green, which, strange to say, I don't recollect ever having visited before, often as I have been to Richmond. I should like to let my house, and live there. It is still and sweet, charming alike in summer and winter."

The part of the palace which still remains is thus described in the survey of 1649 :—

"The wardrobes and other offices consist of three fayr Ranges of Building, embattled, and guttered with Lead, and tyled in the Roof, two stories high, lying round one fayr and spacious Court, 66 yards long and 60 yards broad, all paved, conteyning very many good Rooms and Lodgings both on the first and second storie, and divers garrets, and one fayr Payr of strong Gates, leaded, arched, and battled, with Stone overhead, leading into the said Court from the Green lying before Richmond House."

Few objects are mentioned in the survey as remaining in the rooms or courtyards. One wonders what became of the eleven Statues in the sides of the Great Hall, and of the "fayr Case of Carved Work for a Payr of Organs" in the Chapel. The "one very large Fountain of Lead" in the court, enclosed by the hall, chapel, and other buildings, is said to be the one preserved at Lord Windsor's seat, St. Ervans, in Glamorganshire.

In the Exchequer issues of Henry V. there is entered a payment to Robert Browne for carving divers swans in the King's chambers at Shene. One of these, with a mural crown round its neck, was dug up, in a perfect state of preservation, when the foundation of an adjacent building, perhaps Queensberry House, was being excavated, but no record of its present whereabouts exists. It would be an interesting relic to Richmond, as the only fragment that survived the fire of the palace which preceded Henry VII.'s.

HAMPTON COURT

HAMPTON COURT lies on the north bank of the Thames, in the county of Middlesex, about a mile from Hampton, a mile from Hampton Wick, a mile and a half from Kingston-on-Thames, and thirteen miles from London.

It is first mentioned in Domesday Book, as held by Walter de St. Valerie, and in the hands of the St. Valerie family it remained for about a century and a half, when it passed to Henry de St. Albans, who, about 1217, gave, lent, or leased it to the Order of Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, who, about the end of the twelfth century, had a preceptory here, and who were, by the middle of the thirteenth century, proprietors of the whole of the manor of Hampton.

In 1503, when the house was still inhabited by the Order, Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry VII., went there from Richmond Palace, to make a retreat and pray for a happy delivery. Just a month later she died in childbed.

It is as well to point out that the word "court" in the title of the palace has nothing to do with the building itself, but denotes the portion of the estate reserved by the Lord of the Manor for his own use, in which was situated the principal house of the manor. Analogous instances occur in Imber Court and Sayes Court.

In March, 1514, Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon



visited the manor. In midsummer of the same year, by indenture dated January 11th of the following year, the manor of Hampton Court was leased by the prior, Thomas Docwra, and his brethren, Knights Hospitallers, to "the most reverend Father in God Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York," for a term of ninety-nine years, at a rent of £50 per annum.

Immediately upon assuming possession Wolsey commenced his plans for erecting the immense palace for which the place has ever since been famous. He had a passion for building, as his school at Ipswich and his college at Oxford as well as Hampton Court Palace witness, and whatever he undertook was carried out on the most sumptuous scale. He was, when he took possession of Hampton Court, Grand Almoner, besides being Archbishop of York, and held the Abbey of St. Alban's *in commendam* and several bishoprics *in farm*.

In 1515 he received the Cardinal's Hat, and, three months later, the Lord Chancellorship of England; while, in 1518, he was appointed Legate a Latere by the Pope.

He converted the lands surrounding the old manor-house into two parks, which were enclosed with palings and walls. A great part of the latter still remain.

The house and gardens were surrounded with a moat, huge brick sewers were constructed, and, for supplying the household with water, several conduits were built at Combe Hill, about three miles off, whence the water was conveyed through leaden pipes under the Thames to the palace. Mr. Law computes the expense of this supply of water at about £50,000.

The palace itself was built of red brick with stone doorways, window-frames, copings, parapets, string courses, pinnacles, gargoyles, and ornaments. The chimneys rise in variously grouped clusters, that add immensely to the decorative character of the buildings, some circular, some square, set diagonally, some octagonal. The brickwork is of that colouring common to the period, deep crimson in

places, in places warm purple, and again in places a sort of faded rose colour.

By May, 1516, the palace was sufficiently habitable for Wolsey to entertain the King and Queen at dinner.

Cavendish gives an account of a surprise visit paid to the Cardinal by the King and his train, all being masked. Wolsey, however, did not reside much at Hampton Court until after his return from the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, when the palace had nearly reached completion.

Of his buildings the west front, 400 feet long, remains entirely as he left it, as does the First Green Court, the largest quadrangle in the palace, 167 feet by 142. The Clock Court has been altered by the erection, on the north side, of the Great Hall—Henry VIII.'s work; and on the south side an Ionic colonnade, from the plans of Sir Christopher Wren, obscures Wolsey's façade.

Beautiful in itself, this colonnade is entirely misplaced, and it is the more regrettable inasmuch as the rooms behind it were those the Cardinal occupied himself. A long range of domestic offices on the north side of the two courts last mentioned, the cloisters and courts to the north-east, called the Round Kitchen and Chapel Courts, are but little changed. But the chapel was remodelled by Henry VIII. Still, more than enough remains to give an idea of what the palace was like when it left Wolsey's hands.

If the exterior was stately the interior was even more so. The magnificence of the decorations and hangings is often mentioned, both in Cavendish, who wrote in a spirit of admiring reverence of his master, and in Skelton, whose bitter verses catalogued their beauties but to vilify the Cardinal for ostentation and luxury. Of the splendid tapestries, hundreds of which hung on the walls, three remain in the palace. They are in the guard chamber, beyond Henry VIII.'s Great Hall, and represent the Triumphs of Fame, Time, and Death. Duplicates of the Triumphs of Fame and Death are in the South Kensington Museum, where also

hangs the Triumph of Chastity. The other two Triumphs which made up a set of six have perished or disappeared.

A small room, called the Cardinal's Closet, on the east side of the Clock Court, retains to a great extent its original exquisite decorations, particularly a ceiling in cinque-cento design, in gold and blue.

Furniture, domestic and ecclesiastical, vestments, jewellery, all were on an equal scale of magnificence; and Giustinian estimates the value of the Cardinal's plate at £150,000, or about a million and a half of our money. His retinue consisted of at least five hundred persons, who all had their quarters in the palace. At the time of his greatest influence Erasmus, writing to Cardinal Grimani, says, "He is omnipotent;" and Giustinian says, "All the power of the State is centred in him; he is, in fact, *ipse rex*, and no one in this realm dare attempt ought in opposition to his interests."

The Cardinal's fall was, however, near. Henry at length became jealous of his splendour, and asked him why he had built for himself such a house as Hampton Court. The traditional answer, "To show how noble a palace a subject may offer to his sovereign," is evidence of his ability in a sudden quandary. But the reply was taken in earnest, and the lease of the manor, together with all its contents, surrendered to the King. This was in June, 1525; but for some years Wolsey continued to occupy the palace, and name it in private letters, "*My* manor of Hampton Court." His last great entertainment at the palace was in October, 1527, when he received the great embassy which came to confirm the treaty between France and England. Cavendish gives a lengthy account of it. On July 3, 1529, he left his beautiful house for the last time, and, in a few weeks, was stripped of all his dignities and possessions, and banished to Esher Place. A little more than a year afterwards, he died at Leicester Abbey, on his way to London, to take his trial for high treason.

Immediately upon the withdrawal of Wolsey to Esher,

Henry entered into absolute possession of Hampton and its contents, and at once set about making additions and improvements. The King's lodgings were extended by a new gallery, library, and study, and several smaller rooms; and a covered bowling-alley and covered tennis-court were built. A new set of kitchens and offices was also put in hand. Henry also proceeded to affix his arms and badges to every part of the palace, though those of Cardinal were in some places allowed to remain. He stocked the park with deer and other game, for he was much addicted to the chase. The ponds in the garden were filled with fish that he might amuse himself with angling. A piece of ground of about nine acres, now a kitchen garden, was converted into a tilt-yard, where he might hold jousts and tournaments.

The same huge household was maintained as in the Cardinal's time, and profuse hospitality was exercised. One of the great kitchens remains unaltered. It is forty feet long, twenty feet wide, and forty feet high, with an open timber roof, lofty mullioned windows, and huge arched fire-places seven feet high and eighteen feet broad.

Henry's Great Hall was commenced, probably on the site of a smaller one of Wolsey's, two months before the Cardinal's death.

The King and Anne Boleyn came to the palace in July, 1533, to spend their honeymoon, when probably the fan-groined ceiling of the gateway between the Base and the Clock Courts was added. It contains the badges of Henry, that of Anne Boleyn, a falcon, and the initials H. and A., intertwined in a true-lover's knot. A little later a new set of apartments was raised for the bestowal of Anne Boleyn, in place of the "Queen's old lodgings," but she never occupied them. Henry's passion for her waned; he became enamoured of Jane Seymour, and Anne shortly afterwards died on the block, on Tower Green, her husband being married to Jane the following day.

So the "Queen's new lodgings" were completed for her



successor, and Queen Jane's badge was substituted everywhere for that of Queen Anne, except where it formed part of a structure, as in the ceiling of the gateway.

Jane retired here in September, 1537, and on October 12th gave birth to a son, afterwards King Edward VI. The baptism took place in the chapel of the palace, on October 15th, and was a very gorgeous ceremony. In the College of Arms is preserved a drawing of the whole procession. The Queen only survived the birth of her son twelve days. The body lay in state at Hampton Court in the presence chamber till the last day of October, after which it lay in the chapel till November 12th, when it was removed to Windsor for interment in St. George's Chapel.

The little Prince was left to be nursed at Hampton Court, but Henry left the palace for a year, although the building and decorating went on undisturbed. The Prince's rooms looked out over the Chapel Court.

About 1539 the King proceeded to acquire all the manors near Hampton Court on both sides of the river, and erected them into an honour; and, further, enacted that the lordships, manors, towns, and villages of East and West Molesey, Walton, Esher, Weybridge, part of Cobham, and other parishes, probably Byfleet, Thames Ditton, Wisely, Hersham, and Shepperton, should be enclosed with a wooden paling, and called Hampton Court Chase. This arbitrary measure weighed heavily on the inhabitants, and, soon after Edward VI.'s accession, they petitioned for redress, upon which he ordered the removal of the fence.

Henry awaited here for news of the arrival in England of Anne of Cleves; and she made a short stay whilst the divorce proceedings were going on, but they appear never to have been at the palace together.

As soon, after the divorce, as Anne of Cleves had removed to Richmond Palace, Henry came to Hampton Court with his fifth wife, Catherine Howard, to pass the honeymoon, and they subsequently spent a good deal of

time there. But Henry's matrimonial felicity did not last long without interruption. While in the chapel at mass, Cranmer handed him a paper accusing the Queen of infidelity. The Queen was at once confined to her rooms, escaping only once into the chamber known as the "Haunted Gallery," where she vainly endeavoured to procure an interview with the King. Her ghost is said to appear in the gallery and utter heart-rending shrieks. She was removed from Hampton Court to Syon House, and thence to the Tower and the scaffold.

Unprejudiced against the place by the tragic occurrences there in connection with his former marriages, Henry married, and passed his honeymoon with his sixth wife, Catherine Parr, at Hampton Court. Here, with his last Queen, more nurse than wife, he passed most of his declining years, removing to London only shortly before his death.

His son Edward first visited his birthplace six months after his accession, in 1547. In 1549 he was taken there by his uncle, the Protector, Duke of Somerset, against whose autocratic methods conspiracy was already astir. The palace was put in a state of defence, the moat filled, the gates fortified, and preparations made for a siege. Unsatisfied, however, about his own safety, Somerset hurried his royal charge to Windsor, where he was taken prisoner and lodged in the Tower, while Edward returned to Hampton Court and replaced him with his deadly enemy, the Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland. On January 22, 1551, Edward enters in his Diary that his uncle "had his head cut off upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning." Edward last visited the palace in September, 1552.

In August, 1554, Queen Mary and King Philip of Spain arrived at Hampton Court to spend their honeymoon, but their stay, in contrast with former times, was not characterized by hospitality and gaiety, but by gloom and parsimoniousness. They came to the palace again the

following year, when Mary was expecting her confinement. Processions and masses took place everywhere, with solemn prayers for her happy delivery. The nursery was got ready, midwives and nurses engaged, and a cradle prepared. Special messengers were in readiness to convey the news to foreign courts, and the letters concerning the birth were written out and signed by the King and Queen with only the date left blank to be filled in, and the word *fil* left unfinished for the subsequent addition of *le* or *s*. These letters still exist in the Record Office.

The expected day arrived, bells were rung in honour of the event, and one priest, in a thanksgiving sermon, went so far as to describe the child's appearance, "How fair, how beautiful, and great a prince it was, as the like had not been seen!" But the hoped-for child did not arrive; Mary was deceiving herself.

Meanwhile the Princess Elizabeth, who had been kept in close confinement, had been brought to Hampton Court from Woodstock, and lodged in rooms in the water-gallery, the most isolated portion of the palace.

After a private interview with Philip, she was summoned to the Queen's presence one night at ten o'clock. Mary endeavoured to extort from her a confession of treason, but the princess stoutly maintained her loyalty, and finally the Queen, muttering "*Sabe Dios*"—"God knows," said to her, "Whether innocent or guilty, I forgive you;" and a week afterwards she was set at liberty, and allowed to keep a court of her own, whither—as the conviction that Mary's symptoms were not those of approaching motherhood, but of mortal disease, spread abroad—the great ones of the land flocked to pay homage to her who was so shortly herself to rule the realm. Mary's delusion died hard, but at length she was convinced of her approaching end, and disposed herself to solitary prayer.

Elizabeth first visited the palace after her accession in 1559 to have an interview with the Earl of Arran, one of the

early candidates for her hand. She promptly declined him, as she did a few years after the eldest son of the Elector Palatine, for whom Melville, Mary Queen of Scots' agent, acted as ambassador. He brought her, to Hampton Court, pictures of the aspirant and his family.

Melville, in an account of his interview with the Queen, reveals that she made but little secret of her infatuation for Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, of whom she had a portrait labelled "My Lord's picture."

The most curious relic of Elizabeth at Hampton Court is the portrait of her in fancy dress that hangs there.

At this palace the fate of Queen Mary of Scotland was decided after a conference of peers. The contents of the famous casket, Mary's letters to Bothwell, and other papers were produced, and her complicity in the murder of her husband, Darnley, apparently proved. It is uncertain how far the peers were convinced of the genuineness of the evidence.

During Elizabeth's reign Christmas was celebrated with great display and gaiety. Banquets, pageants, and masques, revels, balls, took place, and the Queen exhibited her skill in dancing to the admiring court. These festivities were held at Hampton Court in 1572, 1575, 1576, and 1577.

She rivalled her father in display and magnificence, and the Duke of Wirtemberg and the French Ambassador have both left on record their impressions of the splendour of the structure and the gorgeousness of the furniture and decorations at Hampton Court. The latter says he saw there "more riches and costly furniture than ever I did see, or could have imagined."

During the last eight years of her life, Elizabeth seldom visited the palace. When she left it for the last time, it being very bad weather, Lord Hunsdon intreated her not to ride in such a storm, saying, "It is not meet for one of her Majesty's years."

"*My years!*" thundered the Queen, and rode all the way to Wondersh. On the 24th March, 1603, she died at Richmond

Palace, and Hampton Court, with the other English royal palaces, passed to the Stuarts.

James I., soon after his accession, made a stay at Hampton Court, and from there issued his summons to all persons having land worth £40 a year or upwards to come and be knighted. Two gentlemen arrived, and received the dignity there, but it became evident that the number of aspirants would be embarrassing, so the succeeding knights, numbering several hundreds, were received at Whitehall. The knights were mulcted in fees, which were a welcome addition to a scantily filled purse. The day before he left for Whitehall, James created eleven peers in the great hall of Hampton Court. During James's reign the masque rose to its extreme pitch of perfection, the greatest dramatists of the day supplied the verse, the best musicians the music, and the greatest architect, Inigo Jones, the mechanical appliances and scenery. The masques took place in the great hall of Hampton Court, where also it is an all but established fact that Shakespeare appeared in his own plays.

Early in this King's reign took place the famous Hampton Court Conference, nominally called together for the purpose of resolving the difficulties which separated the Puritans from the Church party.

The King presided in person, and gave evidence at the outset that concessions to the Puritan conscience were far from his mind. When the subject of the use of the sign of the cross in baptism was reached, James evinced his impatience in almost brutal fashion, and treated the poor Puritan divines as handsomely as any Tudor could have done. Finally, after hearing the Puritan's request that the clergy should have meetings every three weeks for "prophesyings," James roared out a denunciation of the proposal to Dr. Reynolds, the spokesman of the Puritans, finishing up with his famous phrase, "No Bishop, no King." The Conference ended without the solution being arrived at of any of the problems to deliberate concerning which it had been convened.

But one great result came out of it, the new translation of the English Bible, our Authorized Version ; and, strangely enough, the suggestion that it should be undertaken came from the Puritan side.

For the remainder of his reign James visited Hampton Court regularly every autumn, and constantly engaged in hunting there, in connection with which he issued in 1609 a lengthy "Proclamation against Hunters, Stealers, and Killers of Deare within any of the King's Majestie's Forests, Chases, or Parks," which was "given at our Honour of Hampton Court."

James's Queen was taken ill there in 1618, and never rallied. She should be revered, little as her personality is known to the English people, for her strenuous endeavours to save from the block on Tower Hill that great Englishman, Sir Walter Raleigh. Her efforts were fruitless, but that was because her husband was bent on humouring the Spanish Court.

A lengthy account of her last hours exists, from which it appears that she was badgered by the bishops in attendance for signs of her faith, even when she could no longer speak. Her body was taken by river to Somerset House, and from there to Westminster Abbey for burial. The Queen's death is the last incident of importance that occurred at Hampton Court during James's reign.

Charles I. arrived there about three months after his accession, bringing with him his newly married wife, Henrietta Maria, and a great company of French men and women attendants, besides about thirty priests. Here took place their first quarrel, and the disagreement lasted for a lengthy period. On one occasion the Queen's confessor and the King's chaplain, both being seated at table with the King and Queen, began to say grace loudly, each trying to drown the other's voice. The disagreement was mainly owing to the difference in the religion of the husband and wife, and to the unwise counsels of the Queen's French attendants.

The all-powerful Buckingham was sent for and given instructions to send the French away, "if you can, by fair meanes, otherways force them away, dryving them away lyke so manie wylde beastes, until ye have shipped them, and so the Devil goe with them." Charles had evidently arrived at the point of exasperation, but the instructions are less dignified than one would have expected.

At Hampton Court, in 1636, Strafford kissed hands on his departure for Ireland to take up his duties as Lord Deputy.

In 1639 Charles had his catalogue of pictures compiled, and from it it appears that out of the three or four hundred pictures mentioned as being in Hampton Court, quite a large number are still to be seen on the walls there, including the magnificent "Triumph of Julius Cæsar," by Andrea Mantegna.

To Hampton Court Charles fled in 1642 at the outset of his troubles, and so in a measure sealed his fate, for by abandoning his capital he gave the enemy an immense advantage. He only remained a few days, and did not see Hampton Court again until five years afterwards, when he was brought there a prisoner. He made his escape one day in November, 1647, but he got no further than the Isle of Wight. There he was seized and imprisoned in Carisbrook Castle, where he was kept till brought to his trial at Westminster.

By order of the parliament, a great many of the valuable articles in Hampton Court were sold, an inventory, now in the British Museum, being compiled, which extended to about a thousand folio pages. The palace and lands, however, despite two or three endeavours to dispose of them, were retained and finally granted to Cromwell, who, with his wife and family, frequently resided at Hampton Court. Oliver's hospitality was considerable, and his methods of entertaining himself and his guests somewhat boisterous, not to say rowdy. It is none the less Cromwell's

due to admit that the preservation of Mantegna's "Triumph of Julius Cæsar," and many of the great tapestries, was owing to his appreciation of works of art. From the inventory of the goods at Hampton Court taken after his death, one learns that there hung in the Protector's bedroom five pieces of fine tapestry-hangings of Vulcan and Venus, a curious decoration for the chosen leader of the Roundheads to select.

In his time the organ from the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford, was set up in the Great Hall at Hampton Court for Cromwell's delectation, and possibly for that of his Latin Secretary, John Milton, who was a skilled performer on that instrument.

Cromwell's daughter Mary was married in the chapel at Hampton Court to Lord Fauconberg, in 1657, and his daughter Elizabeth, Mrs. Claypole, died there in 1658, her body being conveyed by river to Westminster Abbey for interment.

Shortly after his daughter's death he was taken ill at Hampton Court, and continued in a critical condition for some time. At the end of August he was removed to Whitehall, where in a few days he died.

Upon the evidence of Richard Cromwell's incapacity to take up his father's position, the Parliamentary agents resumed possession of the palaces and their contents which had been placed at Oliver's disposal, and after one or two attempts to sell Hampton Court, which were opposed, it was offered for life to General Monk. He declined it, but accepted a money grant and the stewardship of the palace, which office was retained by him on the restoration of Charles II., the King confirming it in recognition of Monk's services in procuring his return.

Charles II. was fond of the place and much improved the grounds surrounding it. Here he brought his Portuguese wife for their honeymoon, and here, like his father, he had his first quarrel with his wife, whose prejudices in favour



of her national customs and dress, and whose determination not to receive the King's mistresses irritated the easy going monarch. Catherine was worsted and had to yield, after most of her Portuguese attendants, like the French ones of her predecessor, had been sent out of the country. Lady Castlemaine was given apartments at Hampton Court, and the Queen for the sake of peace consented to receive her. Shortly after the reconciliation of the King and Queen they received a visit at Hampton Court from the Queen Dowager. After this time the visits of the King and Queen to the palace were only brief, though much in the way of decoration was constantly going on, Verrio being employed in the painting of ceilings and staircases.

In James II.'s time Hampton Court saw little of the King and Queen, if, indeed, after his accession they ever came there, the only recorded mark he has left on the palace being his initials and the date, 1687, on the back of the fireplace in the Queen's gallery.

William and Mary divided their time pretty evenly between Kensington and Hampton Court, and it was during their reign that the great transformation of the palace took place, a large part of the old Tudor work being demolished and replaced by the present state apartments and buildings, which were erected under the supervision and from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren.

The portion actually built was only a fragment of what it was intended to erect, but want of money probably hampered the King, and it is probably through this, which most people will consider a merciful dispensation, that we have anything remaining to us of the gorgeous structure planned by Cardinal Wolsey. Wren's work does not, however, clash with the old as much as might be supposed. He used red brick and white stone, the same combination as was employed in the Tudor work, and he built his state apartments round a quadrangle.

To Hampton Court came the Princess Anne, the Queen's

sister, shortly before one of her confinements, and here was born the little Prince who was created Duke of Gloucester at the font-side in Hampton Court Chapel, and who would, had he lived, have inherited the crown.

Simultaneously with the commencement of the new buildings the King set about improvements in the gardens, which were laid out anew on plans which, according to Defoe, were of the King's own devising. In fact, William and Mary occupied themselves so continuously with the alterations at Hampton Court, and made such infrequent appearances in London, that there was very general discontent.

Mary, whilst the new buildings were in progress, and her husband was away on business of state, ensconced herself in apartments in that detached building, belonging to the palace, known as the Water Gallery, the same building which had sheltered Princess Elizabeth whilst she was still under her sister Mary's displeasure. In this building she hung the series of paintings by Kneller of the Ladies of her Court, a series which she was influenced to commission from the fact that Lely had painted the Ladies of the Court of Charles II. The Water Gallery was destroyed when the new state apartments were finished, as it obstructed the view from them, and the "Beauties" of Kneller migrated to the Palace itself, where they still hang on the walls. Much of the stone carving on the exterior of the new buildings was from the hand of the famous Grinling Gibbons, the old accounts showing between the years 1691 and 1694 that a sum of £774 16s. became due to him, and between 1694 and 1696 further large sums. Cibber also executed a good deal of carving and sculpture for Hampton Court, and some very magnificent iron gates and screens from the designs of Tijou, a French artist, were executed for the palace by a smith named Huntingdon Shaw. This ironwork, which during the nineteenth century was distributed amongst various museums throughout the country, has, since the accession of his Majesty, King Edward VII., been collected at Hampton

Court with the object of its being replaced in the position it originally occupied.

Upon the death of Queen Mary work at Hampton Court was almost abandoned for some little time ; but when the fire occurred at Whitehall operations were resumed, and the decoration of the interior with carving and painting was hurried along, whilst, outside, the Broad Walk was constructed, and the number of fountains added to, and the avenues in Bushey Park laid out.

Except on the occasions of his visits to Holland, William now spent the greater part of his time at Hampton Court, but his health was fast failing, and consultations with physicians were frequent. When state affairs called him to Kensington, he regularly visited Hampton Court once a week to hunt, and in February, 1702, he fell from his horse there, and sustained injuries which, in conjunction with the malady from which he already suffered, brought about the end. William was moved to Kensington, where he died in less than three weeks.

Queen Anne, who had no pleasant associations with Hampton Court, where her brother-in-law had treated her with indignity, resided most of her time at Windsor or Kensington, although she would come over from Windsor to councils at Hampton Court.

She had several ceilings painted by Verrio, and reconstructed the interior of the Tudor Chapel in classic taste. Pope's " Rape of the Lock " presents a very minute picture of life at this time at Hampton Court, where the scene of the poem is laid ; and the poem is probably the most interesting link we have with the palace in the reign of good Queen Anne.

George I. appreciated the seclusion of Hampton Court as much as he detested life in London, and he spent all the time he could spare from Hanover at the former place, making an occasional necessary journey to London in the state barge. During his absence in Hanover the Prince and

Princess of Wales were permitted to occupy Hampton Court, and here they exercised hospitality, and became so popular as to draw down on them the anger of the King, who was jealous. In George I.'s time, at whose instigation it is not known, Sir Christopher Wren was dismissed from his appointment, and retired to live in a house on the green, close to the palace at Hampton Court.

George II. and his Queen frequently came there after their accession, but few events of historic importance occurred there during their reign, and after the death of his wife the King visited the palace less frequently.

George III. never could bear the idea of using Hampton Court as a residence. His son, the Duke of Sussex, stated that the reason was that the King's grandfather, whose temper was violent, once boxed the young Prince's ears there.

Accordingly, wanting royal occupants, in this reign began the practice of granting sets of apartments at Hampton Court to persons who had deserved well of the country, or had claims on the goodwill of the sovereign; and in this way, although shorn of some of its ancient glory, it has given shelter to many illustrious men and women.

Before the accession of George III. it had become a regular thing for visitors to be admitted to view the State Rooms on payment of a fee to the housekeeper, and during his reign and that of his two sons the popularity of the palace as the *raison d'être* of an excursion out of London had grown enormously.

When Queen Victoria ascended the throne she threw the State Rooms open to the public freely, and the magnificent rooms and galleries, with their noble groups of pictures, are now a recognized holiday resort.

WINDSOR CASTLE

BEFORE the Norman Conquest, an English sovereign already had a residence at Old Windsor, not far from the castle subsequently famous through so many generations. The site of the palace of Edward the Confessor is not ascertainable by any record, but tradition points to a place, near Old Windsor Church, known as Tile Place Farm, of which the moat can still be traced. The name of Windsor, under various disguises, appears in several documents of the Confessor's time. One is a grant of land in Somerset to the Bishop of Wells, and is dated from Wendlesore. Another "made at Windleshora on the fourth day of the Paschal Week," but with no year specified, has the signatures, as witnesses, of Edward's Queen, Edith; of Godwin, Earl of Kent; and of his son Harold, afterwards King. Another, in which Edward confers on his new abbey at Westminster the lordship over Windsor and Staines, must have been drawn up but a short time before the King's death. In it we get the spelling Windlesoran. Domesday Book comes nearest to our modern pronunciation of the name; it is Windesores there. As to the origin of the name authorities differ, some claiming that it is derived from a word descriptive of the winding course of the river Thames past the town, and signifies "the winding shore;" others, that it alludes to the

profusion of willows which existed there, *windle* being Anglo-Saxon for willow.

The strange thing about the name is, however, that it extended itself over so large a tract of country. What we now know as Windsor was, in the days before the building of the castle, not Windsor at all, but Clewer, and away over Snow Hill, Cooper's Hill, Bagshot, and Ascot once stretched the immense forest of Windsor, most of which has been by little and little enclosed, but which until the seventeenth century remained an extensive hunting-ground as wild as the New Forest. Here, over lands a hundred and eighty miles in circumference, our kings hunted the deer, the wild boar, and, in earlier days, probably the wolf also. Windsor Park still remains, but Windsor Forest has become a name only, which is, however, apart from the chroniclers, preserved for ever in the title of one of the earliest poems of Alexander Pope, who spent a part of his boyhood in the district.

Where the castle now stands, crowning the country for miles around, a huge bluff uprears itself above the general level of the land, which would have been remarkable geologically if it had no history attached, for it is of chalk. This mound was part of the Manor of Clewer, one of the possessions of Earl Harold, and there no doubt, when the Confessor was at Old Windsor close by, the Earl had some sort of residence. The commanding situation of the place makes it all but certain that it was fortified from a very early date, though the fortifications may have been only earthworks and palisading.

When Harold lost his life at Senlac, William the Conqueror took into his own hands both the Confessor's estate at Old Windsor, for which he compensated the Abbey of Westminster by the gift of lands in Essex, and the possessions of Harold in Clewer, including the great mound. Harold's manor, according to Domesday, consisted of five hides—a hide being roughly about sixty acres—of which the Conqueror granted four and a half to Radulphus, the son of

Seifride. The remaining half hide included the great chalk mound, which William annexed to the adjoining estate of King Edward. Domesday says, "et castellum de Windesores est in dimidio hida."

What form William's castle took we have no means of knowing. Norman remains exist which allow of the belief that his building covered a good deal of ground in the part of the castle precincts known as the Upper Ward, but none in the Lower Ward, nor on the mound itself. As to the last named, it is the opinion of experts that the Saxon timber fortifications remained unchanged for long after the castle became a royal residence, and that until Edward III.'s time, the date assigned to the Round Tower, no important structure stood upon the mound. This opinion is to some extent founded on the circumstance that when Wyatville rebuilt the Round Tower for George IV. he made excavations into the chalk below, but discovered only few remains of Norman work, and those few of a late character.

Several of the Conqueror's charters are dated from Windsor, but little is chronicled of his life at the castle, which he probably occupied chiefly for the purpose of hunting in the great forest.

In the next reign, the first prisoner passed into ward at Windsor, to wear out thirty years of life in confinement. William Rufus had a bitter feud against Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumbria, whose political aims were antagonistic to his own. But Mowbray was on friendly terms with Malcolm, King of Scotland, and William was undesirous of fighting a coalition. So he bided his time, until a quarrel came about between the King and the Earl, the result of which was that the Earl, by a stratagem, got the King and his eldest son into his power, and slew them. Rufus immediately set about punishing Mowbray, who, by means of the impregnability of the castle he entrenched himself in, evaded capture for a long while, till he too fell a victim to a stratagem, and was carried a prisoner to Windsor Castle.

Rufus convened a council at Windsor in 1095, and frequently spent Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide there. During the festivities there one Christmastide, the Bishop of Durham died in the Castle, whether as the consequence of over-zealous feasting, or from some other cause, is not told. But his is the first death of a person of note recorded at Windsor.

Henry I. is also said to have been frequently resident at the castle, and to have added considerably to its size. He is regarded as the founder of the town which clusters around the castle. He built a chapel which is supposed to have occupied the site of the present Albert Memorial Chapel; and this, in keeping with his assumption of Saxon sympathies, he dedicated to Saint Edward the Confessor, appointing five priests to serve in it. It is conjectured that he was in this chapel married, in 1121, to his second wife Adeliza, the Fair Maid of Brabant. At this wedding a dispute arose between the Bishop of Salisbury, in whose diocese Windsor then was, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, each of whom claimed the right of performing the ceremony. The privilege was assigned by the Council to the Archbishop. Singularly enough, another ecclesiastical dispute marred a ceremony at Windsor, arranged by Henry six years later, at Christmas, 1127. He assembled the great officers of the kingdom to swear allegiance to his daughter and designated successor, the Empress Maud. This time it was between the Archbishops of the two provinces, and the Primate of all England again was victorious, the Archbishop of York being ejected from the chapel.

The coronation of a child in the lifetime of the father occurred at least once subsequently, when, in 1170, Prince Henry was crowned in the lifetime of his father, the son of this Empress Maud. She had married a second time, and when the boy-prince was told by an ecclesiastic that he was royally served, he flung out the taunt that his father had been of royal blood on the mother's side only with the answer, "It is not strange that the son of a Count should serve the son of



a King." Oddly enough, during the reign of Stephen, when England bristled with castles, hardly any mention of Windsor is made. But with Henry II. it seems to have been a favourite residence. The reception by him of the ambassadors of Roderick, King of Connaught, there, is on record; and at Windsor, too, before his son John started on his Irish expedition, he received knighthood at the hands of the King. A tale concerning Henry II. and Windsor, which appears in Fabyan's "Chronicle," accords with the consistently unhappy records of this reign. It states that in one of the chambers of the castle the King had painted a picture of an old eagle being attacked by four younger ones, three of which were assailing him on the body, but the fourth endeavouring to peck out his eyes. On being asked for an explanation of the picture, the King replied that the old eagle represented himself, and the four young eagles his undutiful sons, the one attacking his eyes symbolizing his youngest and best-loved son John, who was, he said, more earnest than his brother in harrying his father to his death, in so much as he was the most beloved of his family.

Richard I.'s reign was the reign of an absentee, for he was crusading or a prisoner for the greater part of it, and his brother John was left free to devote his time to schemes for usurping the throne: first from Richard himself, for which, however, he was not popular enough; subsequently from his little nephew Arthur, which treachery he consummated. When Richard left the kingdom for Palestine, he placed it, however, not under the guardianship of his brother, but under that of two justiciaries, the one for the north being Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, to whom Windsor Castle was assigned as a residence; the one for the south, William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, who was to reside at the Tower of London. This latter was a born intriguer, and was no sooner set in office than he began to contrive how he could oust Pudsey from Windsor, which, in his eyes, conferred the greater dignity on its occupant. It was not long before he

effected his purpose, but he almost immediately discovered another danger in the arrival of Geoffrey Plantagenet, the King's illegitimate brother, to take possession of the see of York. Him, with the help of his sister, he kidnapped, and this led to his own deposition, for Prince John and the Queen Mother were plotting against him. He lost Windsor, which passed into the keeping of the Earl of Arundel for a short time, and then, by the diplomacy of Queen Eleanor, into that of John. John retained the castle until his ineffectual attempt at usurpation whilst Richard was prisoner, when the loyalist party forced the Prince to surrender Windsor and fly the country, whereupon the Queen Mother assumed supreme control of the place.

When, after Richard's death, John had actual possession of the throne, Windsor became his most frequent resort, and it was from the castle that he went backwards and forwards daily to Runnymede for the Council with the Barons, which concluded with the signing of Magna Charta. One does not associate the idea of literature with King John, yet it is recorded that he sent from Windsor to a London merchant, one Reginald, dwelling in Cornhill, for two casks of wine and a book called "*Romantium de Historia Anglorum*,"—he who was to be execrated by future generations for the putting out of the eyes of his little nephew Arthur, and for other acts of treachery unparalleled in the romance of the history of the English, save perhaps by Richard III.!

At Windsor was committed one of John's most fiendish acts of cruelty. He imprisoned Maud and William de Braose, the wife and son of one of his knights, to whom he had made a pretence of selling lands in Ireland actually in the possession of other owners. Finding himself tricked, De Braose withheld the purchase money, which John tried to exact by force. De Braose fled the kingdom, and his wife and son were literally starved to death by the King in Windsor Castle. The wretched murderer actually endowed a chantry where perpetual masses for the souls of

his victims should be said. After the long struggle between John and his barons, they became convinced of his bad faith, and invited Louis of France to come and take the kingdom. Windsor was besieged, and suffered considerable damage; but the shame of surrendering to a foreign foe was spared the castle, and John remained master of Windsor till his death.

Henry III., however, on his accession, found that the siege had rendered the buildings erected by Henry I. almost uninhabitable, and with him begins a new period in the history of the structure. The old Norman hall in the upper ward was disused, if not demolished, and a larger one erected in the lower ward, part of which appears to have been converted subsequently into the library of the Dean and Chapter. Near this new hall the domestic buildings erected by Henry III. stood, on the site afterwards occupied by the Canons' residences, parts of which have been identified with work of Henry III.'s period. The old walls were repaired and strengthened, and new ones added; and several of the towers date from this time. In one of these new towers Henry imprisoned the Mayor and some of the prominent citizens of London, in despite of his promise of safe-conduct to them. This act of treachery was retaliation on the King's part for a fancied insult to him at the time Simon de Montfort had practically seized the reins of government. The citizens were released, but the Mayor never emerged from his prison.

Edward I. only visited Windsor occasionally, though his Queen appears to have liked the place. Their two eldest sons were born at Windsor, and they and their brother Alphonso all died there.

Edward II. occupied the castle more frequently than his father, and his son and successor was born there in 1312, and baptized in the old chapel of St. Edward.

When, in 1326, Edward III. succeeded to the throne the first period of Windsor's glory began. He rebuilt the older royal residence in the upper ward in a sumptuous

fashion, and the lower portion of his structure is still to be seen beneath the state apartments erected in the time of Charles II. His architect was the famous William of Wykeham, whose see gave its name to the Winchester Tower. The most prominent feature added by Edward III. was the famous Round Tower. Whether any previous building had stood on this site has never been ascertained, but certainly nothing of any importance occupied the mound. Edward had determined to institute an order of chivalry in emulation of King Arthur, and, like him, he determined to have a Round Table for the feasts of his knights. The Round Tower was constructed to contain this Round Table. It was built of chalk, faced with stone from Wheatley, which the Dean of St. Paul's had procured for work at the cathedral, but which the King persuaded him to part with. Three shiploads of stone were also brought from Caen for the Round Tower. The table appears to have been horse-shoe shaped rather than circular; it was constructed of oak obtained at Reading, and was made at Westminster. Fifty-two trees are reported to have been used.

Somewhere about 1347 or 1348 the Order of the Garter was founded, and it is from this time onwards that we find St. George taking the place of patron saint of England in lieu of the St. Edward whose name had previously been ever on the lips of the devout and the patriotic. The kings were crowned in St. Edward's chair with St. Edward's crown, and it was the laws of St. Edward that the people clamoured for when indignant at the substitution of Norman customs and regulations by the family of the Conqueror.

With the foundation of the Garter came need for a chapel of the Order, and this, of course, must be dedicated to the patron saint of the Order, St. George. So about 1353 comes the first record of St. George's Chapel. This was a building of much smaller dimensions than the one preserved to us, but must necessarily, having been erected under William of Wykeham, have been a beautiful edifice.

Glass for it is mentioned as being purchased in 1363, and disbursements were made in 1365 for pictures and images. Edward provided it with a college of priests, and also established the Poor Knights, afterwards known as Military Knights of Windsor, as part of the foundation, though their connection with it was modified in later years. Edward's reign was a long one, and before he died sixty-three Knights of the Garter had had the coveted decoration bestowed on them. The last to receive it during Edward's reign was that Henry who was to depose Richard II. and usurp his throne.

One of the most notable inmates of Windsor during Edward III.'s time was Robert, Count of Artois, of the French royal house. He it was who, through his enmity with the King of France, betrayed his country into the long and bitter wars with England, which lasted from his own days to those of Queen Mary. He persuaded Edward that, through his mother, Queen Isabel, who had been sister of the French King, he had a better right to the crown of France than Philip of Valois; that though his mother could not sit on the throne herself, according to the ancient law barring a woman's succession, she could transmit the right to her son. So Edward plunged into the struggle, and Crécy and Poitiers bore witness of his prowess and that of his knightly son, the Black Prince. At Poitiers the French King John was taken prisoner and carried to England, where, after a short time at the Savoy Palace, he was quartered at Windsor, a tower adjoining his apartments having ever since borne the name of King John's Tower. Queen Philippa, during one of her husband's French campaigns, had herself taken the field, and captured David Bruce, King of Scotland, the husband of Edward's sister Joanna. So Windsor Castle saw the strange spectacle of three Kings, inmates together of its chambers, but two of them the captives of the third. There is a story that it was whilst the three Kings were walking in company the

captives told Edward that his house would be more imposing if built on the higher ground, and that he thereupon resolved on the erection of the buildings in the upper ward which effaced the Norman work, jocularly remarking that he would defray the cost of the buildings with the ransoms of his royal brothers. The story is probably as apocryphal as the more famous one about the connection of Lady Salisbury with the origin of the Order of the Garter.

At Windsor the Black Prince married "The Fair-Maid of Kent," and at Windsor Queen Philippa died, in 1369. Froissart, whose Chronicles are packed with references to Windsor, gives a pathetic account of her last hours, and the King's leavetaking of his forty years' wife, finishing the passage thus :—

"And anon after she yielded up the spirit, the which I believe surely the holy angels received with great joy up to heaven, for in all her life she did neither in thought nor deed thing whereby to lese her soul, so far as any creature could know."

Richard II.'s reign was full of troubles, mostly resulting from his own weakness and indecision, and many of them culminated in Windsor Castle. His uncles wrested the real government from him long before he was deposed by Henry IV., and it was by their incitement that, in 1380, when he had come to keep St. George's festival at Windsor, a deputation of citizens arrived outside the castle gates to demand the dismissal of the favourites with whom he had surrounded himself: Michael de la Pole, his Chancellor, whom he had created Earl of Suffolk; Vere, Earl of Oxford; Sir Simon de Burley, the constable of the castle itself. Richard yielded, only to reinstate them on the first opportunity. Burley was subsequently executed after a travesty of a trial. By Richard, Geoffrey Chaucer, clerk of the works, in charge of most of the King's palaces, was brought to Windsor to set about repairs to the chapel, and was installed in the Winchester

Tower. It was at Windsor, and not in London, as Shakespear places it, that the famous quarrel between Henry Bolingbroke and the Duke of Norfolk took place, consequent upon which followed the banishment of Bolingbroke, and his invasion, and seizure of the throne. Despite the profound mourning of Richard for his Queen, Anne of Bohemia, Richard married a second wife, Isabella of France, a mere child; and at Windsor their last meeting occurred. In a contemporary account we are told of their kisses and tears, and how they were served with wine and comfits at the Deanery, when, after kissing the Queen many times, and lifting her in his arms, the King departed, and never saw her again.

Henry IV., whose title to the crown was his might, lived an uneasy life, dreading the fate he had imposed on his cousin. The sons of the Earl of March were nearer to the throne than he, so he shut them up in Windsor Castle, where also was imprisoned James, King of Scotland, the poet, whose "King's Quair" has Windsor for its scene. A rebellion, in which the Duke of Exeter and Sir Bernard Brocas were concerned, resulted in a sack of Windsor, the intention being to assassinate Henry. But he had made his way to London, and swiftly avenged himself on his adversaries. Henry married a second wife, Joanna of Navarre, between whom and the King's son there was a feud, so that Henry of Monmouth did not come much to Windsor during his father's life, nor occupy his stall in the chapel as Knight of the Garter.

On his accession as Henry V., one of his first acts was to release the Earl of March from his Windsor durance, and summon him to take his place in parliament as a peer. The Earl repaid the King for his generosity shortly afterwards by denouncing the leader of a plot against him just before his departure for France. On his return, Henry lodged the prisoners taken at Agincourt in Windsor Castle. In 1416, the festival of St. George was delayed in order that the

Emperor Sigismund might participate in it, and be admitted to the Order of the Garter. The Emperor brought with him to Windsor, for veneration in the chapel, a relic purporting to be the heart of St. George, which remained there until the Reformation. When Henry had married Katherine of France, he brought her to Windsor, and there, at her request, the King of Scotland, still a captive, was made a Knight of the Garter, and accorded greater liberty, and, on his next expedition to France, Henry was accompanied by his royal prisoner, who returned to Windsor, however, after Henry's death; for at Windsor he had left his heart with the King's cousin, Jane Beaufort. Henry's son, afterwards Henry VI., was born at Windsor during his father's absence in France, and the King is said to have prophesied, when the news was brought to him, his own short reign and glorious acquisitions, and the long reign and losses of the son just born.

Henry VI., crowned King of France as well as of England, was christened in St. George's Chapel, and brought up at Windsor; but he had not the advantage of a mother's care, the widow of Henry V. allying herself with a plain Welsh squire. The child-king was in the hands of a governor, the Earl of Warwick, and a governess, Alice Boteler. He was made to issue a license to his governor to inflict necessary chastisement, which reads comically or pathetically according to the mood of the reader.

"If we are negligent in learning, or commit any fault, or do anything contrary to instructions, we give him full power, authority, license, and directions, reasonably to chastise us from time to time according to his discretion, in the manner that other princes of our age, as well in this kingdom as in other, have hitherto been chastised, and without being impeached or molested by us, or by any other person in future for so doing."

When he reached the age of seven, Henry was provided by the Council with a companion at Windsor, in the person of his cousin Richard, Duke of York, a nephew of the Earl of March, and with his coming—he was ten years older than

the King—began the long struggle, known as the Wars of the Roses; for indubitably his sojourn in the most stately of the royal palaces, and his recognition of the feeble character of the King, led him to covet the crown for himself. He never wore it, but two of his sons did. When, after Henry's marriage, his wife, Margaret of Anjou, bore him a son, the King was already giving signs of mental derangement, and York was appointed protector. The Queen, one of the most resolute of women, brought her infant son to Windsor, where the King lived secluded, and by her energy roused him from his apathy, and secured the repeal of the Act making York protector. This was the spark to the tinder, and the civil war broke out. York was slain at Wakefield, only to be succeeded in his pretensions by his son Edward, who broke down all obstacles, and forced his way to the throne.

The deposed King was immured in the Tower of London, and, after his murder there, buried at Chertsey. To his tomb were attracted by his reputation for sanctity crowds of pilgrims, rivalling in magnitude those which for a long time thronged the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. This state of affairs was intolerable to the Yorkist King, and, to provide a counter-attraction, he set about rebuilding the chapel of St. George, appointing as his architect Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, to whom the present edifice mainly owes its form. As a reward of his diligence, Edward conferred on him the Chancellorship of the Order of the Garter, which was attached to his successors in the see, until Windsor became a part of the diocese of Oxford, when the Bishops of Oxford succeeded to the dignity. The only lay chancellors that interrupted the episcopal succession were Sir William Petre in Queen Mary's time, and Sir Francis Crane in the days of James I. Under Beauchamp, who died in 1481 and was buried in the chapel, the work was so far completed that the side aisles received their stone vaulting. To the side chapel known as the Lincoln Chapel Edward translated, by the Pope's license, the relics of a priest

of great reputation for sanctity, known as Sir John Shorne, at whose tomb at North Marston miracles were said to be worked, and whither pilgrimages wended their way. But, despite the popular veneration of Shorne, an account of whose principal achievement, written on the walls of his shrine, ran thus—

“Sir John Shorne,
A gentleman born,
Conjured the devil into a boot,”

the King failed to divert the cult of Henry at Chertsey to the tomb of Shorne in St. George's Chapel. The King died, and was buried in his gorgeous new sanctuary, the first English sovereign to be laid in the chapel, and still the cult of Henry continued.

Richard III., like his brother, troubled at the circumstance, decided to remove the body of the murdered King to Windsor; and so, surrendered unwillingly by the Chertsey community, the Abbot of which, for displeasing the King, found a prison at Windsor, holy Henry at last found a resting-place beneath the same roof as his supplanter. Pope's comment is—

“Whom not the extended Albion could contain,
The grave unites.”

The body of the King was said at the translation to have been uncorrupt, and smelling “like a bunch of herbs and flowers,” although it had not been embalmed. The pilgrims came to Windsor as they had theretofore gone to Chertsey, but the popularity of Richard was not increased. Bishop Beauchamp was succeeded in his post of architect by Sir Reginald Bray, and he continued his work through the reign of Richard III., on into Henry VII.'s, and on his death bequeathed his possessions to be expended on the completion of St. George's Chapel. Under him the nave received its stone vaulting, and work on the chapel continued uninterrupted right on into the reign of Henry VIII., in whose time an end was made by the stone vaulting being added to the choir.

In Henry VII.'s time, Philip, King of Castile, was a visitor at Windsor. The two monarchs exchanged elaborate courtesies after the Spanish manner, each proffering and each protesting; they attended masses, they hunted the deer in the park, a horsebaiting was provided for the entertainment of the guest, and the King of Castile was enrolled amongst the Knights of the Garter.

Henry VIII. added to the castle the gateway which bears his name, but does not seem to have effected any other changes or additions. At Windsor he incarcerated the Earl of Surrey, who, in one of his poems, describes the beauties of the castle and the surrounding country. At Windsor, Anne Boleyn was created Marchioness of Pembroke in 1532; and at Windsor her successor, Jane Seymour, was buried, doubtless by the King's direction, as long afterwards, when he himself died, his will was found to contain instructions for his burial beside the body of his true and loving wife Queen Jane. Henry VII. had, at one time, intended to construct his mausoleum out of the ruins of the old chapel of St. Edward, but he changed his plans, and fixed on Westminster. Henry VIII., doubtless for due consideration, bestowed the chapel on Wolsey, by whom it was reconstructed, though, judging from the existence on one of the external walls of a fresco which is supposed to be a portrait of Henry III., not entirely rebuilt. The Cardinal made all preparations for leaving a stately memorial behind him, providing a marble sarcophagus richly decorated with bronze ornaments and a bronze effigy of himself. Before his death, however, he was deprived of the chapel, and petitioned the King in vain to be allowed to remove his own image for bestowal in York Minster, where he then proposed to prepare his tomb. The costly materials remained in "the tomb-house," as it came to be called, until the Commonwealth, when the bronzes were disposed of, realizing the large sum, for that period, of six hundred pounds. The sarcophagus was utilized for the tomb of Nelson, in St. Paul's Cathedral,

and so at last covered the resting-place of a renowned East Anglian. To Henry no monument was erected, and ninety-eight years afterwards, when the body of Charles I. awaited burial, it was "a fellow of the town" that indicated the position of the royal vault, of the site of which there was no record.

Edward VI.'s objection to Windsor Castle, where he was taken by his uncle Seymour, has been mentioned in the article on Richmond: "Methinks I am in prison; here be no galleries, nor no gardens to walk in." So the little King only occupied the castle when he was overruled by his guardians. And of Mary's connection with Windsor little is recorded.

Elizabeth, however, was fond of hunting, and for this purpose frequently visited the castle, at times spending her Christmas there. Norden, who made a survey of Windsor for James I., has preserved a memorial of the appearance and condition of the place as it was when Elizabeth left it. She built the structure which now forms the Royal Library, with its beautiful oriel windows, in the upper ward. A dining-room of octagonal shape, twenty-two feet in diameter, was also one of Elizabeth's additions. At this date, in the centre of the upper ward, was a fountain which Queen Mary had constructed. From the pool a dragon thirteen feet in height rose, surrounded by an eagle, an antelope, a greyhound, a lion, and a griffin. In Norden's plan a spot near what are now known as the Hundred Steps is marked, "A Breache in the Wall," which, in the next reign, gave rise to lawsuit between the Dean and Chapter and the King, who required them to execute the necessary repairs. They pleaded that they were not liable, and, strangely enough, the case went against the Royal suitor in the Court of Exchequer.

In 1593 Elizabeth occupied herself, at Windsor, with a translation of the "Consolations of Philosophy" by Boethius, beginning it on the 10th of October, and finishing it on the 5th of November. According to a letter, from Bowyer,

Keeper of the Records at the Tower, "accompting twoo houres only bestowed every day one with another in the translating, the computation falleth out that in fowre and twenty houres your Majesty began and ended your translation." Windsor owes to Queen Elizabeth the beginning of the formation of the terraces.

A manuscript in the Harleian collection, attributed by Tighe and Davis to Stowe, gives the following account of the terrace formed by Elizabeth :—

"Upon the northe syde and uttar parte of whiche lodgings also, betwene the same and the browe or fall of the hill, whiche is very stepe and pitche, is an excellent walke or baye, rennyng all along the sayd buyldyngs and the syd of the castell, borne up and susteyned with arches and botereres of stone rayled brest highe, which is in lengthe 360 paces, and in bredthe 7, of such an excellent grace to the beholders and passers by lyenge open to the syght even afarre of; that the statelynes, pleasure, beaute, and use thereof semethe to contend one with another which of them should have the superioritie."

So Edward VI.'s objection to the castle as a residence was removed. Hentzner, who visited Windsor in Elizabeth's time, speaks of the two bathrooms ceiled and wainscoted with glass; of a red marble table in the Queen's own chamber; of a collection of royal beds, each eleven feet square, including those of Henry VII., Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII., Anne Boleyn, and Edward VI.; of the horn of a unicorn, worth £10,000, and of a cushion curiously wrought by the hands of Elizabeth herself.

The lawsuit above mentioned excepted, little is recorded in connection with James I. and Windsor, but Charles I. planned the construction of a royal vault beneath the "tomb-house," and it may have been this circumstance that led to his own interment in St. George's Chapel.

He did not make much use of the castle as a residence, and, by 1642, it was in the hands of rebels, fifty-five political prisoners being consigned to the castle in 1643. When Charles was brought from Carisbrooke to take his trial, he

throne was concerned. But his reign left no mark on Windsor Castle, nor did that of his son-in-law and daughter, William and Mary, who were too much occupied with their building operations at Hampton Court to spare time for Windsor. In 1700 the heir-presumptive to the throne, the little Duke of Gloucester, son of Princess Anne, died at Windsor.

Queen Anne passed her time at Kensington, St. James's, and Windsor in turns, but she was the first of the English sovereigns to make her Windsor residence outside the castle walls. She usually occupied a house, near where the present royal stables stand, which had been hers previous to her accession, and which was known for long as the Queen's House, or Lodge. Still, however, the state apartments must have been made use of, for, in 1703, she entertained Charles III., King of Spain, at the castle; and a room, now forming part of the Royal Library, is pointed out as the one in which she was sitting when the news of the victory at Blenheim arrived. A plan of this battle is said to have been planted in trees on ground visible from the windows.

George I. and George II. made no use of the castle, preferring Hampton Court when in need of seclusion; but in George III.'s time the Court was constantly at Windsor. Fanny Burney's "Diary" is full of details of life at the castle, which had by this time, from lack of foresight, been allowed to fall into such a condition of bad repair, that the Lodge was almost continuously occupied instead of the castle itself. Indeed, when the King was ill, and his reason affected, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York established a table at their lodgings within the castle, so that the sick monarch might be subject to as little disturbance as possible, from which it may be inferred that the royal kitchen had been transferred to the Lodge.

James Wyatt was appointed surveyor to King George III., and by him a staircase, to replace one erected by Charles II., was put up, and the royal apartments on the



Queen Victoria made it, with her Highland and her seaside residences, a favourite place of resort, and during her reign the castle and town saw many gorgeous pageants and welcomed many illustrious royal guests.

His Majesty King Edward VII. was, when Prince of Wales, married in St. George's Chapel to his gracious Consort the Princess Alexandra of Denmark; and his Majesty's father, Albert, the Prince Consort, died at the castle in 1861, and was buried in the Royal Mausoleum at Frogmore, where, early in the present year, the remains of our late revered Queen were laid beside him.

The most notable addition to the glories of Windsor, during the present generation, was the memorial to the Prince Consort, carried out within the castle, by the Queen and her family. This forms what is known as the Albert Memorial Chapel, and occupies the fabric of the old chapel of St. Edward to the east of St. George's Chapel. The interior is transformed by the means of sculptures, paintings, mosaics, and stained glass into an iconography of the Prince Consort's descent, characteristics, and family, and forms the most magnificent of the many structures dedicated to his memory. A recumbent effigy of the Prince is in the body of the chapel, before the altar. The architect under whom the memorial was planned was Sir Gilbert Scott, and he was assisted in the various departments of mosaic, mural decoration, and sculpture by Dr. Salviati, Baron Triqueti, and Miss Susan Durant. Over the entrance door, a blank window is fitted with mosaics representing famous persons connected with the history of St. George's Chapel.

POSTSCRIPT

TO attempt a "list of authorities" would be to compile a lengthy catalogue of books, more or less familiar, upon almost every one of the thirteen subjects treated in this volume. Acknowledgment must, however, be made to those authors consulted who are still, happily, living amongst us : Mr. Ernest Law, historian of Hampton Court and Kensington ; Mr. Beresford Chancellor and Dr. Garnett, historians of Richmond ; the Rev. W. J. Loftie, chronicler of the Savoy, Whitehall, and Windsor ; and the Rev. Edgar Sheppard, the writer of the standard work on St. James's.

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